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Admiral
GEORGE
DEWEY



by John Barrett

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ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

Admiral George Dewey

A Sketch of the Man

BY

JOHN BARRETT

UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM, 1894-1898
SPECIAL WAR CORRESPONDENT WITH
ADMIRAL DEWEY AT MANILA
MAY, 1898, TO MARCH, 1899

ILLUSTRATED



NEW YORK AND LONDON
HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS

1899

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THIS LITTLE VOLUME
A TRIBUTE OF SINCERE ESTEEM FOR
THE GREAT MAN IT ATTEMPTS TO DESCRIBE

Is Dedicated to

THAT DELEGATION OF BRAVE AND FAITHFUL
NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS

**WHO, IN THEIR RESPONSIBLE LINE OF DUTY, SERVED
THEIR COUNTRY AT MANILA WITH THE SAME DEVOTION
AND PATRIOTISM THAT CHARACTERIZED THEIR COMRADES
OF THE ARMY AND NAVY, AND WHO, I AM CONFIDENT,
WILL CHEERFULLY CONFIRM ALL I WRITE OF THE NATURE
OF THE MAN UNDER WHOSE SURVEILLANCE AS THE FAIR-
EST OF CENSORS THEY LABORED, AND FOR WHOSE UNAF-
FECTED PERSONALITY LONG ASSOCIATION UNDER MOST TRY-
ING CIRCUMSTANCES DEVELOPED THEIR LASTING RESPECT**

P R E F A C E

IN the first chapter of this work those points are discussed which usually find place in a preface; hence only a few words are needed here. Although most of the matter published is new and freshly taken from the note-book which I carefully kept at Manila from May, 1898, to March, 1899, selections have appeared over my name in HARPER'S MAGAZINE and HARPER'S WEEKLY, and in addresses and interviews which have from time to time been quoted in the public press. I would beg those who read this unassuming attempt to portray Admiral Dewey, the man, to bear in mind that it lays no claim to special literary excellence, but is largely a collection of leaves from my note-book, in which the language used is simple and not studied. The short time, moreover, at my disposal after the determination to write the book has handicapped me in my efforts to give it that finish which the subject warrants;

PREFACE

but I trust that its deficiencies will be more than counterbalanced by the truthful story that is told. It is hoped that all who are sufficiently interested to read it will be able to form a fairly comprehensive and satisfactory opinion of Admiral George Dewey in action and in repose, and to learn those particular features of his personality of which they desire more intimate knowledge. The fact that he has become such a great public character excuses the detail and freedom of treatment and quotation which are now and then employed. While in the main the Admiral is discussed as I knew him at Manila for nearly a year, adequate biographical matter is included to provide a fair sketch of his life before his chief fame came. As far as I can learn at this writing there is no other work of the same nature being published at the hour of Admiral Dewey's return to his home land. There are elaborate biographies written by distinguished authorities, but this little volume is not intended to compete with them.

J. B.

NEW YORK, *September 4, 1899*

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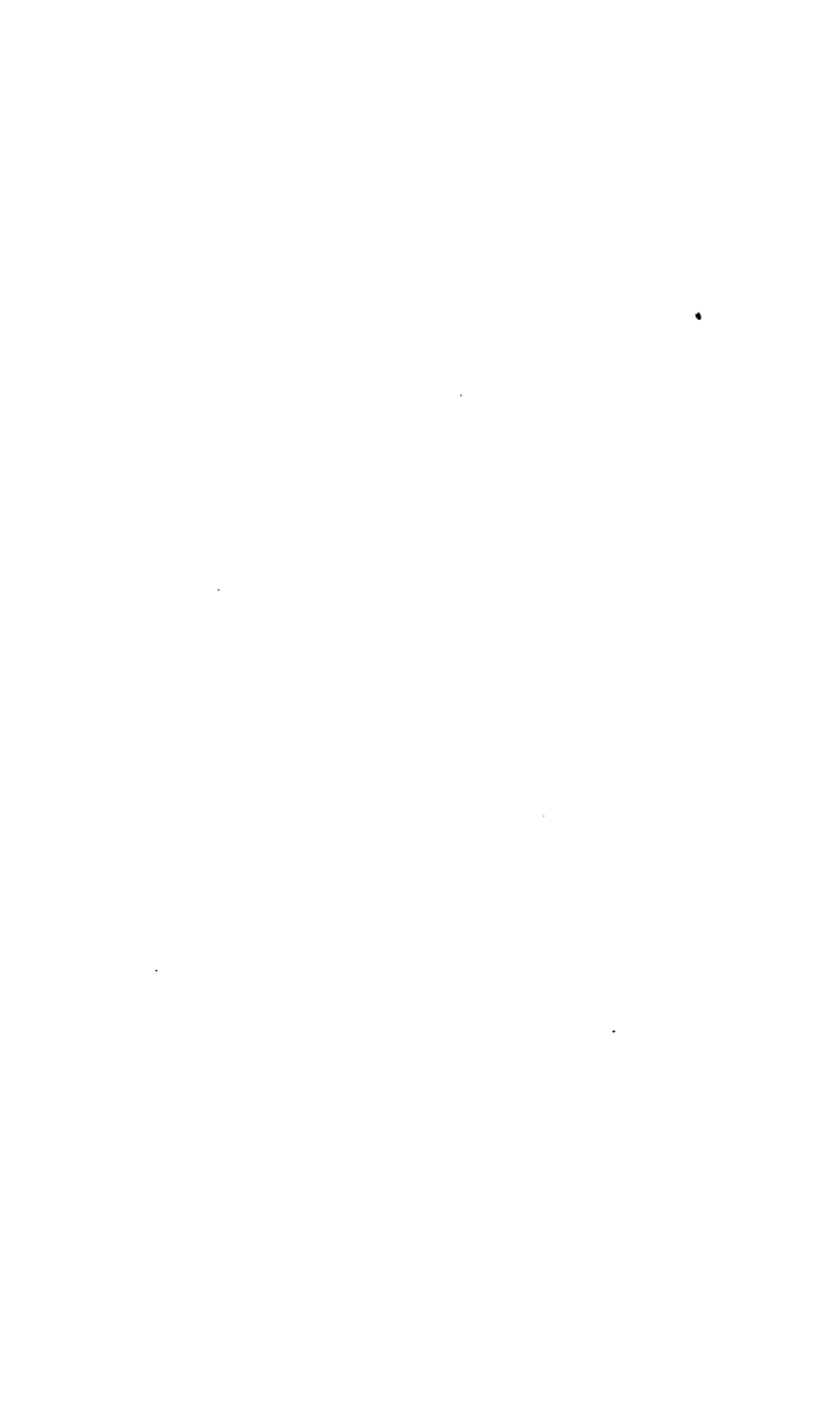
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Part 1

INTRODUCTORY AND GENERAL

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

I

THE PURPOSE, SCOPE, AND INSPIRATION OF THIS WORK

THE simple purpose of this work is to throw such side-lights on Admiral George Dewey as will bring out clearly his remarkable character and personality. It is a sketch from life of the man at work and in repose.

The incidents and anecdotes, as well as opinions and conclusions, are largely based on extended notes carefully taken by me at Manila during times of war and peace, and war again, from May, 1898, until March, 1899, when I had the exceptional opportunity and the rare privilege of seeing and meeting the Admiral off and on for a period of nearly a year.

I shall faithfully strive to touch upon those phases of his life and labors, especially at Manila, which are of interest to all who wish

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

to learn more than is generally told and known of this great man as he appeared under the trying conditions which brought him his highest fame and greatest responsibilities.

This little volume is made up chiefly of leaves from my note-book. It is not, therefore, an attempt to write an exhaustive biography or history of the foremost commander of the war, but a modest sketch of the man as I and others knew him. Only sufficient biographical* matter is introduced to give a fairly comprehensive record of the Admiral's life, and there is no intention to compete with the longer and more ambitious works which are being published. It was not my expectation, when in the Philippines, to write a book of this nature after my return to America, but so much pressure has been brought to bear by those who have seen my notes, which were kept with considerable diligence merely for my own personal satisfaction and future reference, that I have endeavored to put some of them together in this form. The quotations of the Admiral's own words are, with few exceptions, reproduced just as they were written down by me at Manila within a few hours after he had said them. The numerous allusions to myself I trust will be pardoned, in view of the

* See Part IV. and Appendix.

PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

fact that much of what is recorded here is based on personal conversations which were enjoyed with the Admiral or those closely associated with him. Beyond stating graphically what came under my direct personal observation, there is no desire to give myself any prominence. When it is stated that, during his long stay at Manila, it is probable that no other American not a naval man or official of the United States had the opportunity of seeing more of him than I did, this fact is not brought out boastfully, but simply in a comparative sense to show what credence may be placed in my humble estimates of his wonderful character.

The beginning and development of my acquaintance with the great Admiral can be attributed to a series of most interesting experiences. Although I had exchanged official letters with him while I was United States Minister at Bangkok, it was reserved for me to know him well first at Manila after his triumph which had set the Asiatic world agog at the same time that it aroused the enthusiasm of America. As soon as the war clouds began to gather and Dewey's squadron made its rendezvous at Hong-Kong, I planned to reach there in time to go with it to the Philippines. My successor, however, was delayed in arriving sufficiently long to prevent my departure from

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

Bangkok so that I could catch the squadron before it left Mirs Bay.

Almost broken-hearted over losing this one opportunity of a lifetime, I made up my mind, on leaving my post in Siam, first to make a hasty visit to Manila, in order to be there, if possible, at its capture, which then seemed imminent, and then to return with all speed to the United States and volunteer for the army. In fact, my services were proffered in advance to the government by a special letter through the State Department, but unexpected developments, as it will be seen, changed my original plans. Looking back now I am glad that events shaped themselves as they did. Otherwise I might have lost the chance of coming into long association with the first naval man of the war, and of continuing my studies of the Philippines and their people.

While en route from Bangkok to Hong-Kong in early May, 1898, other influences were at work in America which added to the probabilities of my going to the seat of war in the Far East. When I reached Hong-Kong and repaired to the Consulate for letters and telegrams, Consul-General Wildman handed me despatches which at once determined my course. I was asked, to my surprise and pleasure, to proceed immediately to Manila as a special war correspondent of a prominent New York daily, act-

GUEST OF THE ADMIRAL

ing in connection with other representative papers of leading cities. Wiring directly to Secretaries Day and Long for their approval and permission, and to Senator Redfield Proctor for his co-operation, I received prompt and favorable replies. Then, by special courtesy of the Admiral, I proceeded to Manila on the United States auxiliary despatch-boat *Zafiro*. I took up this responsible task with some misgivings as to my capabilities after four years of diplomatic service, but did my best until the fall of Manila in August, when I resigned to devote my entire time to the study of the general situation.

Practically the guest of the Admiral on board different vessels of his squadron for over three months, it was my privilege to meet him frequently during this protracted period, and even every day in times of special excitement. After the fall of Manila I did not see so much of him, but still enough to feel his remarkable influence and note the principal traits of his character and their practical workings. In this connection it should be mentioned that the first directing agency that brought me into more than usual acquaintance with him was the fact that I was by birth and bringing up a fellow-Vermonters; the second was my experience in the diplomatic service, which he believed had particularly taught me to be cautious and dis-

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

criminating, and hence worthy of his confidence and trust. It is my hope that I have never violated his reliance on my judgment, even in selecting the notes which I have used in this work, long after the time they were first recorded. Those portions have been carefully omitted which were given to me with the injunction of privacy.

Speaking of diplomacy, this reference enables me to draw one conclusion right here which has a particular bearing on an estimate of the Admiral's character and characteristics. If I learned anything of true, successful diplomacy during several years' responsible labor, and if my European colleagues were diplomatists of the first rank, our methods were crude and our results limited compared to the forceful *finesse* and the acknowledged achievements in diplomacy alone of the hero of Manila Bay.

II

ADMIRAL DEWEY IN HISTORY—A GREAT MAN IN THE TRUE MEANING OF THE TERM

ADMIRAL* GEORGE DEWEY will occupy a unique place in history. He will forever stand out clearly as the first figure among the commanders and generals of the Spanish-American War. But his fame will rest not merely on the victory of May 1, 1898, in Manila Bay. He is not only a distinguished naval hero: he is a great man in the true significance of the term.

His thorough preparation for the battle before leaving Hong-Kong, his courage and confidence in attacking the Spanish ships in their home waters under their own land batteries, his rare tact, diplomacy, and executive capacity during the year following the victory, his marvellous devotion to duty under trying con-

* For uniformity, the word "Admiral" is repeatedly used in referring to the subject of this sketch, instead of "Commodore," for the period that he held this rank before being promoted to Rear-Admiral and, later, full Admiral.

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

ditions of war and climate, and also his unselfish, modest demeanor in the face of the unlimited praise and love of the American people, support conclusively not only his right to primary position among the leaders of the war, but to be classed among the truly great Americans of the closing days of this century.

In viewing the Admiral's life from the days of his maturity to the present, we are impressed with the logical sequence of events and the natural evolution of the man, which make his career singularly well - rounded and harmonious. Up to May 1st there had been nothing eccentric, extraordinary, or meteoric about what he had done, but a gradual climbing up the ladder, step by step, until, when he came to the dizzy top, he did not lose his head, but met successfully the mighty responsibilities that he saw about him. It is most interesting to start in with the first days when he went away to school at Johnson, Vermont, and follow down the record of his life through Norwich University; the naval college at Annapolis; his first trips abroad; the Civil War; the various commands and duties from Lieutenant up to Captain at home and in foreign parts; his long, responsible work as the head of different bureaus and boards at Washington; his appointment as Commodore of the Asiatic Station—until at last we find him the commander of Amer-

VICTORY NOT AN ACCIDENT

ican forces in the first great battle of the war with Spain. The more one studies this record and life, the more is he convinced that the Admiral was being trained and fitted through these long years for the consummation of his career which he has now realized.

The victory in Manila Bay was not an accident: it was the result of preparation. It was the rational consequence of long years of devotion to duty, discipline, study, and training. Without the experience of nearly forty years' work as a naval officer, from the lowest to the highest position, Dewey might have failed on the morning of May 1st. In estimating his greatness, we must take into consideration the developing life of which the battle was the climax. That event may have brought him into world prominence, but it was not a surprise to his own mind. Deep in the recesses of his own soul was the consciousness that he was ready for the undertaking that was before him on the 1st of May and the long, trying period that followed. There was no shirking, no quaking, no uncertainty, in the make-up of the man. The qualities that carried him to success were first put under trial when he was a boy in Montpelier. From then on until he met Montojo and bested him and opened America to a new life in the Pacific, he was gradually getting ready for the supreme test.

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

Dewey himself, moreover, is everything 'but an accident: he is the evolution of experience. He began his career by fighting in the Civil War; he crowned it by winning the most notable victory of the Spanish-American War thirty-eight years later. What a magnificent record is represented in that period; and the American people may be thankful that he put those years to good use.

History must, therefore, give him one of the loftiest and largest niches in its temple, where he will be looked up to through all ages. His name must rank in many respects with those of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Lincoln, Grant, Farragut, and others who have had such an influence upon the history of this expanding republic. Although it may be granted that there are many who doubt his claim to true greatness when they measure the battle alone, there is no question that if the voice of those who knew him from his childhood to the time he went to the Far East were joined with the voice of those who knew him from the time he arrived there until the present, the conclusion would be unanimous that he deserves the description which the term, a great man, actually means. The historian of the future, studying Dewey's life and all the responsibilities that came upon him at Manila, in the cold light of elapsed years when the present halo of senti-

HOPES BEFORE THE WAR

ment has been dispersed, will confirm all that I say—and yet I am in no sense a hero-worshipper, and am not unmindful of his faults.

Judge Fifield, one of the most prominent men of Montpelier, and a life-long friend of Dewey, recently told me an incident in connection with him which is interesting in view of what has happened. The very last time he was in Montpelier, he was out driving with the Judge. Becoming somewhat philosophical and retrospective in his conversation, the Admiral finally remarked that he had been thinking how unsatisfactorily his career in the Navy must soon end, saying :

“Judge, you have had a successful record as a lawyer ; you are known in this State as having accomplished something, and you can be satisfied with what you have done. With me it is somewhat different. I have always worked faithfully in the Navy, and trained myself for what responsibilities might come ; but I am approaching rapidly the years of retirement and will soon be out of it all, with nothing to my credit but gradual and honorable promotion. I do not want war, but without it there is little opportunity for a naval man to distinguish himself. There will be no war before I retire from the Navy, and I will simply join the great majority of naval men, and be known in history

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

only by consultation of the records of the Navy Department as 'George Dewey who entered the Navy at a certain date and retired as Rear-Admiral at the age limit' !"

He little appreciated then what a few years would bring to him. The long service to which he referred had its sufficient reward, and history will need no promptings to find him.

The truth of Dewey's appointment to the Asiatic Station, which gave him his opportunity, is not generally known. What I say here is not only supported by what I have heard him state, but is confirmed by others who are the best of authorities. Dewey had never had a high command on the Asiatic Station, and did not feel familiar with that part of the world ; but he was deeply interested in its progress and development. He had often been to Europe and the Mediterranean, and, on account of his long residence in Washington, was not particularly desirous of getting the North Atlantic command. He might have taken the latter if it were in line for him, but there were senior officers who had the prior right to it. There was considerable competition also for the Asiatic Station. Secretary Long was not in favor of sending Dewey there. He was not opposed to Dewey personally, and he had no lack of confidence in his naval ability, but he had

SENT TO ASIATIC STATION

made up his mind that, as far as his influence could go, it should be given to another officer. At this juncture Senator Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, who is one of the strongest men in the Senate, and who has always been a trusted friend of the Admiral, went to the President and urged that Dewey should be given command of the Asiatic Station. The President agreed to do this, and before Secretary Long made his nomination he found that the President had promised the place. It could not be said that the President overruled Long, but he made the independent choice of Dewey on the strong recommendation of Senator Proctor, supported by Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, who was strongly in favor of Dewey's appointment from the first consideration of names. Remembering the foresight with which Dewey, as chief of bureau, had prepared for possible war with Chili, and the opinions of his ability expressed by naval men, Roosevelt earnestly favored his appointment to the Asiatic Station, where the Assistant Secretary then foresaw, with characteristic acumen, a probable scene in any war with Spain.

III

PROLONGED STAY AT MANILA, AND APPRECIATION OF HOME ESTEEM

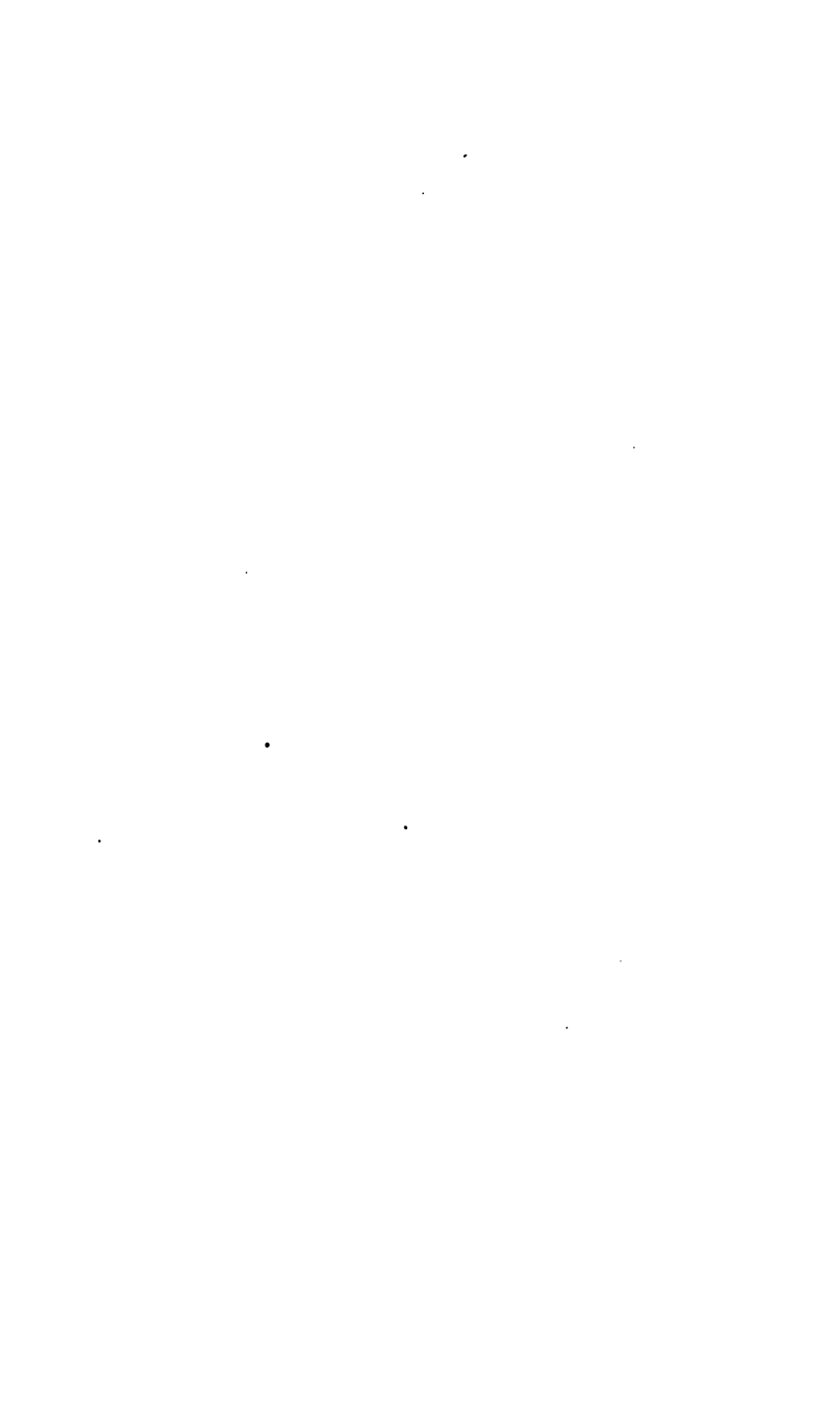
WHEN the American people show their love for the Admiral on his return, they should bear in mind, perhaps above all other things, his marvellous devotion to duty. I refer to this elsewhere, but I wish to enlarge upon it here. He sailed into Manila Bay in May, 1898, and never left it for twelve continuous months to be gone beyond a few hours! Only one who is thoroughly familiar with the steady, unremitting round of responsibilities that required his attention, the gravity of the problems which had to be solved at Manila, and the weariness of remaining without break in one climate—which would even be as true of New York as of Manila—and yet with the fact that it was possible for him to get away if he deemed it wise, can comprehend what it meant for him to stay unflinchingly at his post for an entire year.

This devotion is emphasized so that it stands



THE FALL OF MANILA

Bombardment of Fort San Antonio Abad, August 13, 1898



DEVOTION TO DUTY

out with great prominence by the fact that every other man in his squadron, including his staff, all of his captains, and the rank and file of his sailormen, had the opportunity of going to Hong-Kong more than once and experiencing the pleasures of a change in surroundings, climate, food, and responsibility. Even the *Olympia*, his own flagship and home, went to Hong-Kong without him. Unselfishly, he transferred his flag to the *Baltimore* and awaited the former's return, never closing his eyes to the contingencies or new duties that might arise at any moment in guarding his country's best interests. I doubt if such a record is preceded in history. It was the marvel of all who knew him and met him at Manila. He was repeatedly urged to go out at least for a day's cruise up and down the coast, but except for a trip to Subig Bay, he sent others and stayed behind to be ready for any emergency.

When we add to that his reply to the President's suggestion that he come home to assist in the deliberations at Paris and at Washington, we get the very ideal of devotion to duty in a great man. How could any of his officers or men fail to do their very best when they had such a splendid example as this? How could any newspaper man ever misrepresent the Admiral, or take advantage of his confi-

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

dence, when he saw such self-abnegation on the part of this hero? How can the people of the United States do otherwise than give him that spontaneous reception which they have planned from one end of the country to another, with their hearts welling up with patriotic enthusiasm, when they think that this grand character in our history is only coming home after he has done everything in his power to serve his country faithfully, and only after absolute conditions of health demanded that he should depart if he would live to give the American people an opportunity to show him their unmeasured love?

It may be interesting to know how the Admiral received and considered all the evidence of the love of the American people for him. We watched him very closely in this respect, because it was such a good opportunity to study the effect of unlimited praise, amounting almost to adulation, upon a great man. Here again we see the simplicity and naturalness which made those who knew him well respect him all the more. When the great flood of congratulatory telegrams came piling in, followed by another flood of letters and the eulogies of the press, it was evident that they made a marked impression upon him. He was pleased — immensely pleased ; that cannot be

EFFECT OF POPULAR PRAISE

denied. But he was troubled with one very serious thought, to which he gave expression and which shows the man's nature :

“This appreciation of the American people of what I have done is most gratifying. I cannot find language to express my feelings, but I sometimes wonder if it will last. I even fear that it may not. This is only the first part of the war, and the only naval battle so far fought. There must follow other battles in the Atlantic, and the glory of triumph in them may surpass that which has come to me from the battle of Manila Bay. I am the hero of the present, possibly; but even at this very hour that honor may have gone to some one else. Possibly the next batch of telegrams may tell us of events in the Atlantic that will completely overshadow what has been done here.”

At this point some one interrupted, and suggested that, taking all things into consideration, it would be very difficult to surpass in the Atlantic what he had done in the Pacific.

“I know that,” he added, thoughtfully ; “and I honestly believe, without intending to give any praise to what I have done, that in view of the difficulties and peculiar conditions surrounding me out here on the other side of the earth, ten thousand miles away from Washington, the achievement of my squadron should

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

rank with most anything that will be done in the Atlantic. Still, you know the temper of the American people. It is quite probable that, with the nearness of Cuba and with the excitement over the issues of the war in the large centres of eastern population like New York, there may be a combination of events ending in some sort of a climax which will arouse a great wave of interest that will sweep away everything else in its praise of what is done there. I even doubt if at the end of this war and when I return to America, there will be any such unanimity of kindly feeling towards me which there is now, except as one of many who did their duty in the war."

In response to a request on my part that he make some signed statement about the battle of Santiago for use in the papers which I represented, he told me to write out what I thought were his views from what I had heard him say and then he would sign it. The time was short before the mail steamer left, and there was only a moment to prepare it. He looked it over hastily, signed his name, and said I could telegraph it if I wished. The original, which I possess, was as follows :

"U. S. Flagship *Olympia*,

"MANILA BAY, June 17, 1898.

"The good news of Admiral Sampson's great victory is most welcome. Although it is suggested that the re-

THE SANTIAGO VICTORY

sults may cause me to look to my own laurels, I gladly express my sincere gratification at the destruction of the Spanish-Cuban fleet, which, with their loss in Manila Bay, must end Spanish sea power in this war if not forever. From the telegrams just at hand I note the remarkable similarity of the Spanish fighting off Santiago to that in Manila Bay. In both battles their firing was ineffective, they fought their ships to the least advantage, and finally scuttled or burned them to cover their defeat. The small loss of life on our side then is indeed extraordinary and rivals our record here in view of the ships engaged. I trust that the results of these two battles, as well as lesser incidents, may prove to the American people the value of a strong and well-trained navy.

“GEORGE DEWEY,
“Rear-Admiral.”

From these and other words of the Admiral, of which I made record in my notebook, I know that he not only was anxious for great naval feats in the Atlantic, and would be perfectly willing to see his own record surpassed if it could bring success to our arms, but he had the personal feeling which any man who is human must have, that it is quite possible that the mantle of glory which had come to him at the moment might at any time be placed upon the shoulders of another.

It is also interesting to note how he regarded the effect of the battle off the entrance of Santiago Bay in its bearings on his claim. It must not be understood, however, from my dis-

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cussion of these points that the Admiral gave any considerable attention to them. Far from it. These are only side-lights on passing phases of his character and glimpses of his thoughts, which were only caught at rare intervals. By putting together all that I remember in regard to his views upon this subject, I am able to formulate this little diversion on a point which will interest many.

After the news of the battle of Santiago arrived and had been discussed as fully as possible with the brief telegrams at hand, and each man had drawn his conclusions as to the effect and meaning of the destruction of Cervera's squadron, several of us, including the correspondents, Mr. Harden and Mr. McCutcheon, happened to be sitting with the Admiral, talking over some possible feature of that conflict. Suddenly, either Harden or McCutcheon suggested to the Admiral that whereas the Santiago victory was a great one, it could never eclipse his at Manila. The Admiral raised his head, rubbed his eyes, and pulled his mustache, as was his habit when about to express an opinion upon a matter which interested him, and then said:

"It is very kind of you to say that, but you know that victory was near at home, and it must have appealed to the people with a tremendous effect. But what do you really think

UNSPOILED BY HONORS

will be the result of the comparison between it and the battle here? Do you believe that the American people will still remember us for what we have done, and not put us behind those who were at Santiago?"

We then all waxed earnest in our contention that the Admiral's fame and the greatness of the Manila victory would never wane in the lapse of time or in the comparison with other victories. I think I say nothing to the discredit of the Admiral when I remark that this sincere observation on our part seemed to please him very much. He was that human and that natural that he would like to have his name and his battle stand first in the history of the war, and yet not for a moment would he argue to that effect, or even make the direct assertion. No matter how much he may have thought it in his own mind, he would not declare it in a manner to indicate egotism or self-praise. If the American people would not give him the verdict of first honors, he would make no effort whatever to convince them that he deserved it. If the greatest glory should go to some other naval hero, he would accept the situation philosophically and be ready to join, if necessary, in the acclaim of his successor in the line of heroes.

Before he left for America these questions as to his position were entirely settled. There

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was no doubt of the opinion of the American people as to where he stood, and he recognized it.

But it did not spoil him. He remained the same simple, modest, strong, dignified, matter-of-fact man that he always was, except, possibly, he even grew gentler in nature and manner. Many of his officers remarked to me that after he became fully aware of where he stood in the opinion of the American people, he lost nearly all of his former severity and gave away less to occasional exhibitions of temper. Both in giving orders and in conversation he showed a mildness which earlier in the year was oftentimes lacking. The love of the American people seemed to touch the springs of his emotion and develop a side of his character which had never before been fully brought out.

In noting these observations on the Admiral's appreciation of the love of his countrymen for him, I can best sum up its effect on him by saying that he is coming home to America with his heart, not his head, swelled.

It might be excused in a great man, who is nearly overwhelmed by the attentions shown him, if he did not give full credit to his native town, state, surroundings, and family which have had a distinct influence on his success in life; but the Admiral never forgot to speak

HIS LOVE OF VERMONT

kindly of Vermont, Montpelier, his father, brothers and sister, and the good people among whom he was brought up. Whenever any papers were sent to him which had illustrations of Montpelier, he looked them over with much satisfaction, and, knowing that I was a Vermonter and familiar with Vermont scenes, he would call my particular attention to them. Taking a copy of an illustrated paper, the *Vermont*, which had a special Montpelier issue, he pointed out all the old scenes that were familiar to him with much pleasure, and repeatedly remarked that he looked forward to the time when he could go back there for a quiet summer. Montpelier to him was the most beautiful town in the world, and Vermont suggested memories and associations which he never forgot. One day, hale Captain Chichester asked him where his home in America was. The Admiral immediately replied, "Montpelier, Vermont."

"Humph!" grunted Chichester, "where are Montpelier and Vermont?"

"Chichester, you come over some day to America and visit me, and I'll show you where they are, and there are no better places in England, either. If you ever meet a man from Vermont, you know just what he is."

When a few days later I had the privilege of lunching with Captain Chichester, and re-

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marked that I was born in Vermont, he said : " Oh, indeed, I understand how it is you Vermonsters are so numerous. I might have known you were a Vermonter. Most every man I meet now is a Vermonter. I suppose half the population in America was born in Vermont. now that they have found out that Admiral Dewey comes from there !"

No one loved better than Chichester to quietly prod a person a little in a half-joking way. One who did not know him might misunderstand him and be offended, but to those with whom he was well acquainted he was a most agreeable companion. The Admiral was always pleased when Captain Chichester came over to see him, and he liked nothing better, now and then, than to get an opportunity to spend a few minutes with the British captain on the *Immortalité*. They were two men whose spirits and feelings seemed to be thoroughly akin, and each had great respect for the other. If the affairs of the United States and Great Britain could be forever intrusted to two such men as Dewey and Chichester, there would never be anything to mar the permanent continuance of their friendly relations.

The fifteen years that Admiral Dewey spent in Vermont before he went out into the world, as it were, left an indelible impression on his mind. He was always referring to the green

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hills, the rivers, and the wholesome aspect and effect of the Vermont landscape. He loved the mountains, the valleys, the meadows, the forests, and all the conditions which are found at their best in and around Vermont's capital. Whenever, in a reflective mood, he sat on the after gun-deck of the *Olympia* and looked out upon the hills and mountains towering up behind Manila, he would dream of the hills back of the old capitol building at Montpelier, of Mount Mansfield and Camel's Hump, and of the Adirondacks on the west and the White Mountains on the east, looking forward with infinite delight to the time when he could again be among them and think over the experiences and joys of his youth. This is no idle picture. Many times I have heard him speak of the Vermont hills, and there was a sincerity in his words which characterized all that he said.

If he receives a grand reception when he goes back to his old home, as will surely be his experience, and if he tells the people of Montpelier and of Vermont that his greatest satisfaction on returning from his campaign in tropical waters is to be among the people and hills of his native State, he will indulge in no exaggeration. And yet the Admiral is thoroughly cosmopolitan and broad in love of his country. When discussing the different

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invitations that he had received from California to New York, he often observed that he would be equally happy to be the guest of any one of the cities on his return to America, and that his heart was filled with gratitude to the whole country for their spontaneous expression of love for him.

One item of news which delighted the Admiral so much that he called our attention to it was the movement to erect a statue of him on the portico of the capitol building at Montpelier, Vermont, in a position corresponding to that of Ethan Allen. Speaking of it, he said :

“ I well remember when that statue of Ethan Allen was erected. It made a great impression upon my mind. It was not there when I was a boy, but when I came home from the naval college I remember going to look at it with that awe and reverence with which all Vermonters at that age would have for any great hero whose name was associated with the State's history. I can see it now, with all its lines and its exact position, as plainly as I saw it first nearly forty years ago. It is a fine work of art, and has that form which naturally impresses the young hero-worshipper. I never dreamed that my statue would ever be placed either alongside of his or anywhere else in the world in those days, and I can hardly realize now that

STATUE AT MONTPELIER

I have done enough to deserve it. Still, if there is anything that would please me, going back to the memories of my younger days, and keeping in mind all the associations of the past, it is that the people of Vermont should in this way wish to show me their love and esteem."

IV

RELATIONS OF ADMIRAL DEWEY AND AGUINALDO, THE INSURGENT LEADER

THE relations of Admiral Dewey and Aguinaldo have been the source of extended discussion. It is my purpose to throw a little light on this subject which may be new to some, but known to those who were in touch with the Admiral's plans. It was my privilege to listen to him describe what had passed between himself and the insurgent leader, so I hope that I am in a position to speak with some authority. Moreover, I talked over the same points several times with Aguinaldo himself, first at Hong-Kong, in May, 1898, later at Cavité and Bakor, and finally at Malolos.

The first point that I would bring out strongly is that Dewey never, by spoken or written word, urged Aguinaldo to go to the Philippines, and did not even invite him! Second, the permission for him and his associates to go to Cavité on the *McCulloch* was only secured by the earnest representations of those who favored



ADMIRAL DEWEY COMING ASHORE AT MANILA

This is an excellent photograph of the man as he appeared standing or walking

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AGUINALDO ON *McCULLOCH*

his going, and was not suggested by Dewey. Third, there were no other means by which Aguinaldo could reach Cavité, as no merchant-ships were then leaving Hong-Kong, and none could enter Manila Bay without the Admiral's permission. Therefore, Admiral Dewey simply allowed Aguinaldo, as a friend who wanted to fight a common enemy, to take passage on the United States despatch-boat *McCulloch*. Fourth, I heard Ensign Caldwell say, on the night before the *McCulloch* sailed, at the residence of Consul-General Wildman, and in the latter's presence, that the Admiral was not particularly desirous that the Filipino leaders should come to Cavité, but that if they were anxious to do so on their own responsibility, and the Consul-General thought wise, he would permit them to come on the *McCulloch*. Mr. Wildman believed conscientiously that he was acting for the best, and advised Caldwell to take them. Caldwell at first demurred, but finally agreed. The next morning I accompanied him and the Consul-General, while the Filipino leaders were picked up in the bay from different boats in which they had smuggled themselves off from shore to avoid the notice of British officials. Fifth, Admiral Dewey received Aguinaldo on the *Olympia* after his arrival only in an informal way, and never by act or communication, then or later,

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formally recognized or regarded Aguinaldo as an ally, even giving him specifically to understand that neither he nor the American government could make him any promises as to privileges or rights. Sixth, the only direct assurances that Aguinaldo may ever have received as to his future status were given to him in Singapore and Hong-Kong by agencies which Dewey did not control. It may have been possible, and it is even probable, that Aguinaldo thought these agencies were authorized to speak, and were responsible and sufficient, but he himself, however, knew well, the day he boarded the *McCulloch*, that the Admiral, as the chief and only representative of the United States in the Philippines, had not on his or the Government's part, directly or indirectly, asked him to come to Cavité, or promised him anything in event he did come, and that, therefore, he had no hold on Dewey, or on the United States Government through Dewey.

What interpretation he may have arbitrarily given to his being permitted to travel on an American despatch-boat, or what was said to him by other agents of the United States, cannot be placed at the door of Dewey's responsibility. He may even have honestly believed then that he was to be allowed to establish an independent government of his own, but it is

NO PROMISES MADE

hardly right that Dewey or the Government at Washington should be held responsible for his personal expectations, especially when, after he arrived, Dewey so plainly manifested his inability and lack of intention to make any promises. I believe—and I know the Admiral believed—in giving Aguinaldo and his followers credit for all they did in organizing an army, provisional government, and in making successful warfare on the Spaniards outside of Manila, but the recording of those achievements should not prevent the telling of the truth in regard to the actual relations between Dewey and Aguinaldo.

When Dewey sent the telegram for Aguinaldo to “come immediately,” the former was in Hong-Kong expecting to leave any moment for Manila, and it was sent by him from Hong-Kong to Consul-General Pratt at Singapore. It was simply in response to telegrams and letters from Mr. Pratt, telling Dewey what assistance Aguinaldo proposed to give the United States, and asking the Admiral if he would consider Aguinaldo’s proposals and intentions and permit him to go to Manila. There was nothing in that or other telegrams, or in any letters written by the Admiral, from which the conclusion could be drawn that he, as the principal representative of the United States in connection with the war then impending,

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made any promises or gave any assurances either to Aguinaldo or any of his associates. If Aguinaldo wished to see him, it was necessary to "come immediately" or miss Dewey at Hong-Kong.

Talking with Aguinaldo on the *McCulloch* just before she sailed, I asked him about his plans. As I said in an article in the *Review of Reviews* for July, 1898 :

"While I cannot quote his exact language, I remember that, with his usual reserved manner, he said that it was his intention to proceed to Cavité and, after reporting to Admiral Dewey, go on shore and organize without delay a provisional government and an army with which to join us in making war on the Spaniards, and thus secure freedom for his people from Spanish rule. He expressed admiration and love for America and Americans, commended their successes in the war with Spain, and declared that he and his people wished to be our allies. At that moment, in line with general opinion in America and elsewhere, he probably believed that it was not the intention of the United States to hold the islands in actual sovereignty ; but I know that he was never given by Admiral Dewey any assurances whatever of independence then or later, nor even treated by him as an ally in the accepted sense of the term."

STATEMENT OF AGUINALDO

In looking over the notes of my many different interviews with Aguinaldo, I find that on three different occasions I attempted to gain from him a direct statement as to whether Admiral Dewey had ever said or written anything to him which could possibly be interpreted as assuring him and his people absolute independence. He studiously avoided giving a direct answer, but on one occasion he said :

“There may be no formal evidence of his attitude according to international law, but I consider his treatment of me as evidence to that effect.”

From this it can be seen that he practically admitted that he had no right to draw the conclusion, from the attitude of the only authorized and responsible agent of the United States Government, Admiral Dewey, that he was assured of Filipino independence. His very references to international law strengthen this inference, because in all his correspondence with American officials he was endeavoring to prove that his rights were based on international law. Then, again, when he says, “I consider,” he acknowledges that his opinion is merely an arbitrary one.

As for any further claims on the part of Aguinaldo that the Admiral recognized him as an ally, based on the treatment of Spanish prison-

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ers and the permission to fly the Filipino flag on insurgent boats, I may be able to explain the situation so that it will be better understood.

There were two important occasions only when the Admiral had any relations with Aginaldo in regard to Spanish prisoners. In both instances he told me what his purpose was, and, in one instance, cautioned me to remember what he said, because the matter might come up in the future. It has, and I am glad of the opportunity to tell the truth about it. First, in regard to the Subig Bay prisoners who were captured by the *Raleigh* and *Concord* when they went there to look after the *Irene*. The Filipinos claimed that they were about to capture the garrison when the *Irene* intervened, and that rightfully the prisoners should be theirs, because not only were they about to proceed against Isle de Grande, where the Spaniards were holding out, but because they had informed the Admiral of the German cruiser's presence and of the garrison which he later compelled to surrender. Having no place or provision for prisoners at that time, and wishing to avoid a misunderstanding with the Filipino leaders, the Admiral for these reasons quietly told them that they could hold the prisoners if they would treat them well, which they promised to do. That ended that incident; and there was no reference to or sug-

THE SPANISH PRISONERS

gestion of alliance in remark or letter passed, beyond that the Admiral impressed upon the Filipinos that this arrangement was not to be used by them in any way whatever as a precedent.

The second affair of prominence was the disposal of the prisoners captured on the *Leyte*, a small gunboat. Those taken earlier in the campaign on the *Callao* had all been paroled and sent into Manila. Those on the *Leyte* did not seem anxious to return to Manila, and the Spanish officials were not inclined to receive them. Then, as the Admiral had no arrangements for incarcerating, guarding, and feeding prisoners of war, he sent one of his officers to Aguinaldo, who held all the prisoners in Cavité and was then caring for nearly two thousand Spanish soldiers whom he had taken in his campaigns, and suggested that he would like to "board-out" the *Leyte* men, and would pay so much for their food and care. Aguinaldo agreed, and they were put with his prisoners. Later the Admiral reclaimed them and delivered them up as his and not Aguinaldo's prisoners. When the army came and Aguinaldo withdrew from Cavité, there was place and room for prisoners, and those from Guam were kept under American surveillance until the fall of Manila. This is the whole of the story of prisoners, briefly told, on which Agui-

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naldo based his conclusions in his address to foreign powers.

In the matter of the alleged recognition of the Filipino flag, the Admiral simply allowed them to fly some kind of distinguishing mark for their boats, which finally developed into a full-fledged flag. They seemed to want to do it, the Admiral saw no particular harm in it as long as he was in control of the bay, and even held that it was a good idea, because he then would not mix them up at a distance with his own and with foreign boats and launches which were continually moving about. He said nothing to the Filipinos or to foreign officers which could be rightfully construed as formal recognition of the flag as that of an ally or independent nation. He rather tolerated it on sufferance as long as the Filipinos were friends; when they became unfriendly he immediately stopped its use. This, then, is the substance of the flag story. At that time the Filipinos construed neither the privilege of using the flag nor keeping prisoners as evidence that the Admiral considered and treated them as an independent government. These conclusions were plainly after-thoughts.

Not only do I know what is here written on these points from association with the Admiral but from the tenor of what Aguinaldo himself said to me on different occasions. There is no



ENTRANCE TO PASIG RIVER, MANILA.

FILIPINOS FOR WAR

question that he is a clever, intelligent man, so that when in looking over the record of events he saw some apparent advantage to himself, he did not hesitate to interpret it for the support of his own ambitions. I liked the man personally as I met him. So did most others, and I would not wilfully misrepresent him, but my interest and former sympathy should not restrain me from relating what I know to be facts, especially when they help to make plain the Admiral's position on a most important point.

These latter statements, as well as those which went before them, may seem of some importance and interest, because I do not know of their having been brought out before to this extent by any one who was in touch with what was going on. It is my desire to be thoroughly fair in all my descriptions of what I saw and learned in Hong-Kong and at Manila, and I have even been accused of inconsistency, simply because I believed in stating both sides of the question. As long as the Filipinos refrained from attacking and fighting the forces of the United States Government, I did all in my humble power to prevent a possible conflict, and invariably gave the Filipinos credit where they deserved it. On the other hand, when, led away by unfortunate influences and inspired by false conceptions of the attitude and intention of the United States Govern-

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ment, and after a commission appointed by General Otis, consisting of General Hughes, Colonel Crowder, and Colonel Smith, had brought every influence to bear in order to come to some understanding with the Filipinos through a commission appointed by Aguinaldo, they saw fit to declare war against the United States, I, like many others who had followed carefully the situation, supported the Government in its determination to put down the insurrection and establish peace and order throughout the islands under recognized American authority. We felt a kindly interest for the Filipinos as long as they were guided by conservative judgment and peacefully awaited the outcome of complications, but when they became excessive in their demands, refused even to consider the most liberal propositions from the United States, and their army resorted to irritating and insulting methods along the line of our army which was defending the city, and finally declared in formal terms war against the United States, we logically held that they were not longer deserving of sympathy and support.

Those of us who have watched this whole Philippine problem with the closest interest from its very beginning up to the present time, and have spent a greater part of the period on the very field of action, have reached our conclusions from actual observation and study of

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all the conditions and influences at work. For myself, I know it is my hope that the war will soon be over, and that the United States will be able to establish a stable government throughout the islands, characterized by just as large a degree of autonomy as possible. In that way we shall be able to subserve not only our own interests, but those of the Filipinos, and bring about a settlement of the question by which they will have even greater freedom, justice, and rights than they would have under an absolutely independent, but unprotected and unstable government.

While I am not authorized in any shape or form to express the opinion of Admiral Dewey, I am confident that his personal views are closely in accord with these.

V

THE ADMIRAL'S OPINION ON AMERICA'S DUTY IN THE PHILIPPINES

THE gradual development of the Admiral's opinion of the attitude of the United States towards the Philippines was interesting to follow. At first he was plainly in doubt as to the advisability of permanently holding the islands as American possessions, but as time went on, and the moral responsibilities of the United States grew apace, he viewed the situation in a broad light and came to the conclusion, before he left Manila, that the United States could not with honor to herself, to the natives, and to the world shirk the responsibility which she had not sought, but which had developed through a train of imperious events. No man at Manila was more anxious to avoid fighting with the Filipinos and none labored more earnestly to that effect than the Admiral himself. He strove by every influence which he could directly exert, and in co-operation with General Merritt and General Otis, to prevent the

THE DUTY OF AMERICA

conflict which followed. When it came, none, again, was more earnest than he in the opinion that every effort should be put forward to bring the fighting to a quick conclusion. The effect of the delay of the ratification of the treaty he discussed with utmost frankness. Time and time again he spoke of the most harmful influence of the long period of waiting when the United States did not know whether they were to have sovereignty in the Philippines or not. In his letters to his own family and to his friends he brought out this idea. He was heard to say that he wished that the United States Senate could be on the ground, as were he and General Otis, and understand all phases of the situation, and the direct bearing on them of the delay in ratifying the treaty. He saw the tremendous energy of the Filipinos in taking advantage of this doubtful period in the United States, and expressed the opinion that every hour of delay added to their strength and gave them more confidence in their ability to fight.

The opinion of the Admiral as to America's position in the Philippines should carry much weight, because no man studied all the conditions, moral, political, and material, more carefully than he. To-day he is as full of information on every point connected with them, probably, as any living man. Before he left Manila he expressed himself in unqualified

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terms as to the duty of the United States in solving the problems before her. His conclusions were unbiased, and represented the mature thought of over a year's familiarity with the islands and their people and all of the conditions that had led up to the present fighting. Like many other men who are in favor of courageously meeting our responsibilities and endeavoring to bring about the best results for everybody, he is not an expansionist or imperialist in the radical sense in which those terms are used; he simply feels that, without the selfish prompting of conquest, we have been obliged to face a great problem and we cannot honorably run away from it.

In his impartial and fair way of looking at all questions, he has not hesitated to state any points that were in favor of the Filipinos, even though by so doing he has exposed himself, as have others, to being called inconsistent by those who think differently from him. Why it should not be possible to state both sides without being accused of inconsistency, neither he nor others, who, like him, would be perfectly fair and frank, can understand. At the same time, he did not allow the good points which he saw in the natives to hide their bad ones, and, therefore, commit himself to statements that the facts would not warrant. If everything that the Admiral has said and writ-

THE ADMIRAL'S LAST OPINION

ten about the situation in the Philippines were taken in systematic order along with the original context, it would be found that his position was perfectly consistent, and the only consistent one that could be expressed by a man who was familiar with the history of our presence in the Philippines—and who himself began it.

The best, most recent, and pointed statement that the Admiral has yet made in regard to his position on the Philippine question was included in a conversation which he had in Hong-Kong, while the *Olympia* was being docked and he was resting preparatory to his departure for home. To the Consul-General he is reported as saying :

“ I have great expectations for the future of the Philippines. I hope to see America's possessions the key to Oriental commerce and civilization. The brains and money of our great country will develop the untold agricultural and mineral richness of the islands.

“ We must never sell them. Such an action would bring on another great war. We will never part with the Philippines, I am sure, and in future years the idea that anybody should have seriously suggested it will be one of the curiosities of history. Our moral responsibility to the natives and the world will not allow us to retreat from what is before us.

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“The insurrection is broken. There will be a few more hard battles, and the new era for the islands, that was temporarily delayed by the rising, will soon begin. Aguinaldo and his generals must be captured, and then the very semblance of an insurrection will cease.

“Aguinaldo’s name is the real power among the natives. Wherever we go it is always Aguinaldo. The officers of the Tagalos, civil and military, tell us they have no power to treat for peace until they hear from Aguinaldo. Foreigners and natives testifying before the Peace Commission all testify to the same state of facts.

“Many of the island provinces that were once warlike are anxious for peace, and will accept the terms as soon as the Tagalos of Luzon are whipped into line, but they dare not treat with us so long as Aguinaldo has the power to confiscate property or punish those who offend him.

“The end is not far off if we push right after them. We must concentrate our troops and vigorously prosecute the campaign in Luzon. That is our whole task. The southern islands will quickly fall in line. This, I hope, will not be long happening.”

VI

THE TEMPTATION OF PRESIDENTIAL AMBITION RESISTED

FROM the moment that we realized what fame Admiral Dewey had achieved, we watched for the development of the Presidential idea. We listened to hear the buzzing of the bee. We were disappointed. If the idea developed or the bee buzzed, it was when he was all alone by himself. From the very beginning to the end of the time he was at Manila he stoutly asserted that he would not be a candidate for President, he was not ambitious to be President, and he was not fitted to be President !

Many of us, however, have reason to believe that the Admiral considered in the privacy of his own thoughts what would be the bearing upon his future of his willingness to be a candidate for the Presidency. There were little signs at one time and another that he had gone over the matter thoroughly, and had finally made up his mind for once and all that he would resist the temptation. There may even

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have been moments when he was tempted to consider such a great possibility. He would not have been human if he had not been. The newspaper correspondents and many of his officers were of the opinion that he fought the matter out in the same way that he did everything else, looked at it in all its lights, and then made up his mind forever that he would have nothing to do with the temptation which would be constantly before him.

Great quantities of letters and telegrams rolled in on him from prominent men in America, asking him if he would be a candidate. These suggestions came from men of Republican as well as Democratic faith. If I were to give here a list of those who wrote him, it would prove most interesting and instructive. It might even astonish Mr. McKinley and Mr. Bryan. Those which the Admiral mentioned were told in confidence, and they cannot be repeated here. They were of sufficient number and strength to have tempted any man. We admired him all the more when we saw how courageously he turned a deaf ear to all these proposals. So many interviews have been published with him in regard to this subject, that I will not quote him, though I find that on many different occasions I made note of what he said. There was also further particular reason for my being interested, because

DEAF EAR TO PROPOSALS

many men influential in politics in different sections of the United States, with whom I was acquainted, wrote directly to me and asked that I sound the Admiral on this important point, and let them know how he stood. Several even authorized me to telegraph fully his position.

In my opinion, there is only one condition that would tempt the Admiral to accept the Presidential nomination. That would be either a request from both great parties, or a unanimous request from one party where it was in such a position that acceptance would be tantamount to an election. The Admiral has never said anything of this kind to me, but, with all his refusals to consider the position, I do not believe that he would stand to one side and say that he would not accept if he was fully convinced that it was a duty which he owed his country. He would no more hesitate than he did when he entered Manila Bay. The Presidency, with all its responsibilities, might be too much for his health and even kill him; but, when he sailed for Manila Bay to destroy the Spanish fleet, he knew that he stood an equal chance of losing his life with any of his men. At Manila it was performing duty and meeting responsibility; with the Presidency it might be the same. Still, the conditions do not point that way. The Admiral will oppose

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any effort to develop popular sentiment in his favor; and at this moment there is no doubt that he has no intention whatever of being considered a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the American people—perhaps it is even a question if the post of full Admiral, which has only two precedents in American history, is not equal in honor and dignity to that of President.

Admiral Dewey, on the other hand, entertained loyal respect for President McKinley. He invariably referred to him in sincerely kind terms. He would speak of the enormous difficulties and grave responsibilities before Mr. McKinley as President and express full confidence in his ability to meet them successfully. The Admiral is thoroughly broad in his views and, if he happened to differ from the President in what was the best policy in matters of politics or war, he did not think any the less of Mr. McKinley and criticize him accordingly. He recognized that there were two sides to every important issue. When some of the newspaper men or naval officers, who were strong partisans, would speak adversely of the President's policy, he would not only defend the Executive but end the conversation if it became personal or heated. He respected the President as his chief and as a man. At the

RESPECT FOR THE PRESIDENT

same time he said nothing which indicated partisan or prejudiced views, and did not indulge in fulsome praise. He felt and spoke as a thoroughly patriotic servant of the government.

As to the Admiral's politics, it can be said that he is neither a pronounced Democrat nor Republican. He once discussed this matter with me, and said that his life had been so absolutely removed from the direct influence of politics that he did not class himself as belonging to any particular party. He has voted very few times in his life, and does not expect ever to be called upon to take the position of a partisan. He has numerous friends in both parties, and no particular prejudices in favor of either. He is governed more by the man nominated than by the party nominating him. Any one who discusses politics with him can plainly see that he cannot be distinctly placed in the ranks of either of the great parties.

Part 11

**PREPARATION FOR BATTLE,
THE BATTLE,
AND CONSEQUENT RESPONSIBILITIES**

I

PREPAREDNESS FOR THE BATTLE AT HONG-KONG

To those who were associated with the Admiral during the days that Hong-Kong was the rendezvous of the squadron before the descent on Manila his preparedness for the battle was in no sense a surprise, but well known. His captains and staff had absolute confidence in him and his mastery of the situation. This remarkable trust in their commander was shared not only by the wardroom officers, but by the petty officers and sailormen of every ship. From Admiral down to stoker there ran a thread of faith in success and of courage in undertaking, along which thrilled the emotions of coming battle begotten in his own breast and finding welcome lodgment in the hearts of his brave men. When the signal was run up to weigh anchor in Mirs Bay and make the course for Bolinao, there was not a faint heart at muster. The *Olympia* was leading

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and the Admiral was aboard—that was ample inspiration for all.

The people of the United States may not have realized until May 1st what a strong character Dewey possessed, but the officers who were to execute his commands and the men behind the guns knew. This must be remembered as a most helpful influence in the successful consummation of his plans. If you would arouse the indignation of any of the officers or men under Dewey's command who came to Manila with him, suggest by even mild intimation that the completeness of the victory or the Admiral's skilful management of affairs that followed was unexpected or in a measure surprising.

Standing one day on the superstructure of the *Olympia*, I said to the gunner who had charge of one of the big eight-inch rifles of the forward turret:

“Where did you think you were going, and what did you expect to do when you sailed away from Mirs Bay?”

“Go and do?” he replied, with a scornful expression and tone that made me feel quite insignificant and ashamed for asking such a foolish question. “Damn little did I or any one else on this ship care as long as the old man was ordering it. We knew we were going to a hot place, and meant to make it hotter



**ONE OF THE BIG 6-INCH SPANISH GUNS ON SANGLEY POINT WHICH FIRED ON ADMIRAL DEWEY'S
SQUADRON AND WAS DISMOUNTED BY THE FIRE FROM THE AMERICAN SHIPS**

The wrecks of the *Castilla* and *Reina Cristina* are on the left, and Cavi6 is in the background



HE INSPIRED CONFIDENCE

still for the Spaniards ; but, man, we would have sailed straight into hell after him !”

In my note-book, where this incident is recorded, are several other sentences and phrases of the answer to my question, which, on account of the strong sailor language used, I will for obvious reasons omit, but they all served in their way to demonstrate the full trust of this gunner and his gun’s crew in the Admiral.

Possibly no better evidence of Admiral Dewey’s capability of inspiring confidence among those who came in contact with him can be found than the influence he exerted over the British captains of the two auxiliary vessels, the *Nanshan* and the *Zafiro*, purchased at Hong-Kong to accompany the squadron to Manila and carry coal and supplies. Both of them told me that, while they fully realized the great risk they were running, and the certainty of being put to death if captured, they left their first conference with the Admiral supremely impressed with the idea that such a man knew what he was about and could not be beaten. Therefore they would be safe in continuing commanders of their steamers. They were paid double what they received in times of peace, but even that inducement would not have sufficed if they had not been moved by reliance on the Admiral’s judgment and courage. These remarks were not merely post-

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bellum comment swelling the tide of popular adulation. It so happened that skippers of ships coming to Bangkok before the battle repeated to me almost the same words from these captains, in explanation of their willingness to remain with the Americans, which the latter employed in discussing the matter with me soon after the great contest.

I would lay special stress on these actual ante-bellum conceptions of Dewey in order to show that his qualities of successful leadership and true greatness were demonstrated before the fight—when, however, they were not appreciated at home—as much even as in the long, trying period that ensued until and after the fall of Manila. In letters which I received from British army and naval friends at Hong-Kong and from Americans stopping, or living, there, written in March and April, 1898, some of which I now have before me, I find without exception this expression of the same sentiment: Dewey is the right man for the peculiar and difficult situation; no American need have any fear of the outcome of a fight in Philippine waters with him in command. General Wilsone Black, military commander-in-chief and acting governor of Hong-Kong, who has all the keenness of perception and judgment of men which characterize typical Scotchmen of his kind, was an ardent admirer

CAREFUL PREPARATIONS

of Dewey, and yet the only time he saw and knew him was during the exacting period when the American squadron was anchored in sight of Government House, preparing to fight.

“This battle was won in Hong-Kong harbor,” said Admiral Dewey to me when I first saw him in May, 1898, and listened to him describe the great fight. Many times since then have I heard him repeat the same sentiment—and the more the truth of it is considered the more light it sheds on his character. While he was brave, strong, prompt, and decisive in action, he was thoughtful, cautious, deliberate, and sure in preparation. Day after day he summoned his captains to discuss all the possibilities and eventualities of a conflict with the enemy. He gave them an opportunity to say when, where, and how the battle should be fought. From the junior to senior he called upon them to express their opinions freely. If any man had a novel idea it was given careful consideration. If it was an old one with improvements it was viewed in all phases. After the Admiral had patiently heard his captains and duly interrogated them, he quietly told them his own exact plan of battle and just what he expected of each man. Whether this was made up originally out of his own ideas or

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from such in union with the best points advanced by his captains, it was reached only after thorough deliberation, and was final.

His details of preparedness also included obtaining all data and information possible not only of the Spanish fleet, forts, mines, the depths and location of channels and entrances to Manila and Subig bays, the state of tides, currents, and winds, but the constant training of his men at target practice, in preparing for action, in landing, in fire-drill, and in all other possible conditions of actual battle until every officer and man could imagine himself a veteran in advance, and knew his precise station and rank as well as his own and his neighbors' capability of doing their duty. Admiral Dewey's squadron when it sailed out of Mirs Bay could have been compared to a thoroughbred horse trained to the hour by an expert who knew not only his animal but its competitors and the conditions of the race.

To make the comparison more apt at this season, I would say that his squadron was like a college football team trained to the moment and yet with endurance for a battle royal where individual play was inspired by confidence in the captain to go in and win at all hazards.

I am often vexed when I hear critics who do not understand the situation as it then existed

THE SQUADRON A UNIT

endeavor to belittle Dewey's victory by emphasizing the weakness of the enemy. While I do not admit that they were weak, considering the strong land batteries at Cavité point, Manila, and those at Corregidor which had first to be passed or silenced, and the number of their vessels having the advantage of location, home waters, and land support, I claim that under the leadership of Admiral Dewey and the perfect condition for fighting which characterized both ships and men, a much larger, stronger force would likewise have been defeated—not without loss of lives and possibly a ship or more, but with absolute, unquestionable triumph for the Americans. With everybody and everything in that squadron working as a unit for one purpose under the guidance of one hand, with no bickerings and no jealousies in its living energy, and with no engines and no guns untested in its inanimate power, it formed within its limits an irresistible force that would have gained victory with any foe or left no ship or man to mark its defeat. There are many who will urge that I paint this picture in too strong colors, but they will not be men who saw Dewey, his men, and ships in Hong-Kong before the battle or in Manila Bay after the combat. We who were on the ground speak feelingly and yet honestly. Moreover, I write as an unprejudiced layman and not as

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an enthusiastic naval officer. Mr. Stickney, the newspaper correspondent who went to Manila on the *Olympia*, Consul Williams who was on the *Baltimore*, Mr. Harden and Mr. McCutcheon, two other correspondents, and Colonel Loud, on the *McCulloch*, the only men not of the navy who accompanied the squadron, will, I am confident, bear out all I write on the preparedness of the Admiral and the condition of his ships and men for the expected battle.

The supreme incident in the train of events, beginning with his first coming to Hong-Kong up to the hour of the battle which showed this remarkable deliberation and readiness, was the giving of the famous command: "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley." There you have the man: what composure and yet what strength, what confidence and yet what decision of character are shown in those words, which must be immortal as well as the memory of the man who uttered them.

But with all this deliberation, care, and mastered perfection of force there were mingled the influences of profound courage supported by intensity and tenacity of purpose. Otherwise, even with his excellence of arrangement, he might have quailed at the outlook. Here again, in estimating the greatness of the Admiral and of his victory, much must be taken into consideration. A brief review of some of

SITUATION AT HONG-KONG

the depressing features of the situation that found him will support the correctness of my argument.

In Hong-Kong, although the sympathy of the British naval and army men was with us, there was a strong tendency to exaggerate unintentionally the dangers of an isolated movement on Manila, to describe and picture the Spanish fleet as overmatching the American, and generally to impress on the Admiral, his officers, and men the extremely hazardous undertaking before them. Spanish agents were hard at work spreading open and mysterious reports about channels mined and forests of torpedoes laid in both the Boca Chica and the Boca Grande, respectively between Corregidor and Marivales on the north and Corregidor and El Fraile on the south, and in those portions of Manila Bay where it would be necessary for an invading fleet to manœuvre. Among all the marvellous stories that were told and retold it was exceedingly difficult to obtain exact and reliable information. There seemed to be nothing definite. And yet the Admiral discriminated so carefully in sifting out what was responsible that later he found conditions to be approximately as he finally concluded when making his ultimate plans.

Another discouraging feature of the prob-

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lem before him was the knowledge that not only no reinforcements or assistance of any kind had been despatched by the government to support him in case of need, but that probably none would come for nearly two months, either naval or military. In this connection it is well to remember that Dewey had long before this advised the government to send him more and stronger ships and be ready for developments in the Far East. Finally there was the desperate necessity facing him of being obliged to retire, if the battle was not decisive, to some point for repairs—but where? Neutrality laws were against him in all ports of Asia, and America was 8000 miles away!

To use a land phrase in treating a naval subject, Dewey, in going to Manila, was burning all his bridges behind him, and he had to succeed. His only alternatives were a crippling defeat, ending in hopeless retreat or utter annihilation of his squadron. If, then, there ever was in history a situation requiring more courage in a commander than this, it certainly has not been recorded. If Dewey had lost instead of won under such discouragements, history would have ultimately done him justice, even if the people had been temporarily ungrateful. In the light of what actually happened, he is personally deserving of exclusive credit for the success of the descent on Manila.

HE TOOK THE LEAD

All that the government did was to tell him he might go—to loosen the leash, as it were, or release him from the immediate control of the Navy Department.

Then when he sailed down the coast of the Philippines nothing daunted him and his brave captains. He was ready to fight in open sea, in Subig, or Manila under the land batteries. He made a bold reconnoissance of Subig Bay with the *Boston* and *Concord*, as if it were San Francisco harbor, but when he reached the entrance to Manila Bay and knew that the enemy must be awaiting him there, he took the lead himself with the *Olympia*, despite the hazard of first contact with mines and the fact that her high freeboard and superstructure formed a shining mark even for Spanish gunners. Some commanders would not have sailed in; others would have at least tarried while a reconnoissance was made.

I have devoted this amount of space to Admiral Dewey's preparedness for battle, together with the difficulties and dangers that faced him, because, in judging him and what he did, very little attention has been given to this brief but most important period of his command, and because it is impossible to arrive at a true estimate of his character without consideration of his conduct and management in those trying hours when no one knew what the

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future had in store of good or ill, or what the changing fortunes of war might bring forth. Dewey, in fact, had proved himself a great commander before he fired a shot in Manila Bay.

Before concluding my observations on these ante-battle conditions I must cite the crowning proof of his preparedness and accuracy of judgment. I will quote his own words from my note-book, but preface them with the statement that they were well corroborated by what from time to time I was told by his able Captains: Wildes, Gridley, Dyer, Coghlan, Lambertson, Walker, Wood, as well as Flag-lieutenant Brumby, and Secretary Caldwell. He said :

“I told you that this battle was won in Hong-Kong harbor. To show you more plainly what I mean, I will say that we—that is, my captains and staff officers working with me—so planned out this fight with all possible contingencies that we were fully prepared for exactly what happened. Although I recognized the alternative from reports that reached me that the Spanish Admiral Montojo might meet me at Subig or possibly at Marivales, I had finally made up my mind that the battle would be fought right here that very morning at the same hour with nearly the same position of opposing ships. That is why and how at break

A HONG-KONG INCIDENT

of day we formed in perfect line, opened fire, and kept our position without mistake or interruption until the enemy's ships were practically destroyed, and the order given to cease firing and retire from action."

These are essentially the words of a conversation which took place within a few weeks after the battle. They were modestly told in ordinary discussion, but disclosed a marvellous precision of plan and judgment which alone would enable him to rank with the great naval commanders of history.

One incident shows the amusing as well as the serious side of British kindness towards the Admiral and his fleet. The despatch-boat *Zafiro* went up from Manila to Hong-Kong towards the latter end of May for some "shore grub" or fresh provisions for the fleet. All supplies carried when the ships went down to fight were exhausted. The men needed fresh food. They had to have it, or sickness would surely follow. None could be obtained at Manila. The only place to get it was Hong-Kong. There was no alternative that side of Shanghai or Singapore.

The rules of neutrality permit delicacies to be purchased for the Admiral or officers of a ship, but not tons of fresh supplies for a whole squadron. Lieutenant McLean in charge of the

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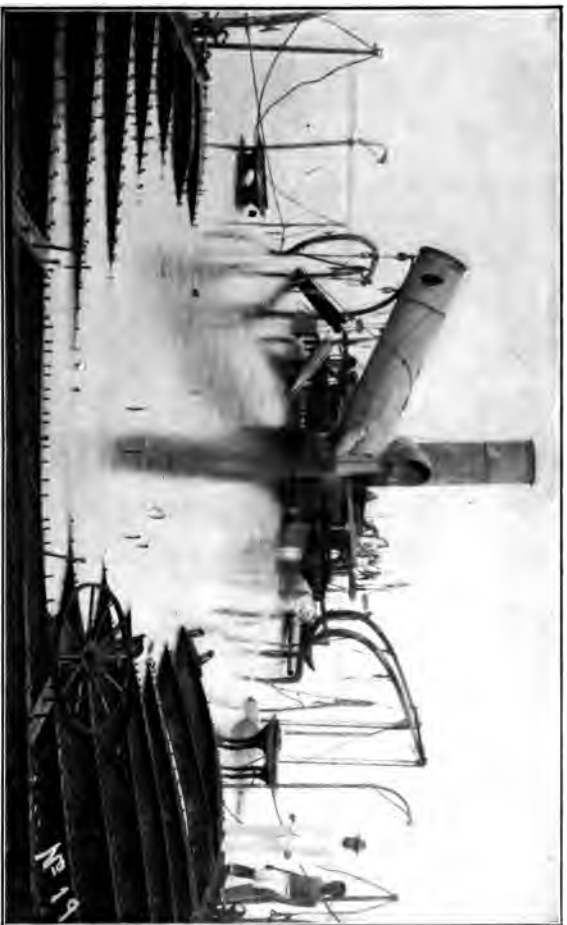
Zafiro was at a loss as to how he was to manage the matter. While trying to get off one small boat-load of supplies to the ship, he had been stopped by a police-officer who said that such shipments could not be permitted. He came to me with his troubles, and, happening to know well the Acting Governor, General Wilsone Black, a typical old Scotchman of the best class, I went to see him regarding this matter.

"General," I said, "the *Zafiro* is in port for less than a twenty-four hours' stay, in accordance with the neutrality rules, but before returning, the captain would like to purchase a few delicacies for the Admiral and his staff. Have you any objections?"

The genial but shrewd Governor looked at me intently and smiled in a knowing sort of way.

"Delicacies for the Admiral?" he repeated. "Why, certainly, I have no objections. Of course he must have them—and just a few, too, for his staff and officers, I suppose. That is all right. I will give instructions for them to be passed—but, of course, only delicacies!"

Standing on Peddars Wharf a little later, I saw a number of large lighters or junks being towed out towards the *Zafiro*. Suddenly a Spanish consular officer came rushing up to a harbor official, who was standing the usual guard, and exclaimed :



THE *REINA CRISTINA*, FLAGSHIP OF ADMIRAL MONTOJO, AS SHE LOOKS TO DAY

The hole of a five-inch shell is seen in her after funnel

GOVERNOR AND CONSUL

"Stop those boats! They are taking off supplies for the American fleet at Manila—I protest!"

The officer, who was a tall, strapping Irishman, looked down on the little Spaniard with a benign smile, and said, with a drawl:

"Please don't be disturbed or troubled. This is all right; those boats are only taking off a few delicacies for the American Admiral."

I was impressed with the strict execution of the letter of the Governor's instructions, and walked away admiring how well the thing was done; but this is not the end of the story. Although I was not present at its conclusion, I heard on good authority that the Spanish consul, on learning what was going on, rushed up to Government House and violently protested. The Governor, with characteristic tact and urbanity, immediately quieted this earnest servant of the Spanish Government by saying:

"Mr. Consul, do not be troubled. What you refer to are only a few delicacies for Admiral Dewey, and you certainly cannot object, because it is altogether probable that he is taking along a small extra supply in order to send some to General Augustine and Admiral Von Diederichs."

Possibly the esteem for Dewey in Hong-Kong may have had its influence in persuad-

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ing the Governor that it was not against the neutrality laws that several hundred tons of "delicacies" for the Admiral should be shipped every few weeks from Hong-Kong to Manila! By careful comparison of what one man could consume, with the total export of "delicacies" on United States despatch-boats during the time of war, every man in Dewey's squadron must have been an Admiral! This, assisted by some other notable incidents, certainly had the effect to make every Jackie at Manila an advocate of an Anglo-American alliance.

It is often said that the way to get at an Asiatic is through his stomach; from what I saw at Manila, I think that rule applies even to Americans and Europeans. To go farther and still continue chronicling history: When Admiral Dewey wanted to make Admiral Von Diederichs, the German commander, penitent, he sent him over a leg of frozen mutton, and straightway there was a temporary lull in German activity; when he wanted to show his appreciation of the hearty sympathy of Captain Chichester, he sent him over a leg of mutton, and forthwith Sir Edward strode from his cabin and took his bearings to see if the *Immortalité* lay between the *Kaiser Wilhelm* and the *Olympia*! All of which at the same time goes to prove that Dewey was an eminently practical as well as a theoretical diplomatist.

II

THE STORY OF THE BATTLE TOLD IN THE ADMIRAL'S OWN REPORT

THE best story of the battle of Manila Bay that has ever been written is the report which Admiral Dewey made to the government three days after he had destroyed the Spanish fleet. He had sufficient time to consider the details of the conflict, and yet so short a period elapsed that his mind was fresh with every feature of importance. It is a historical document, and is in some respects typical of the Admiral's character. It is brief and to the point in its description, yet sufficiently comprehensive to give a correct conception of the great combat. Its narrative has the precision of a trained naval officer. There is not a word wasted, but each principal phase is brought out with unique clearness. With characteristic modesty he takes little or no credit to himself, but speaks in highest terms of his captains, staff, and men. There are, however, many incidents connected with the battle which the Admiral's

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short story does not bring out, and in his desire not to weight his report down with unnecessary descriptions he omits some particulars which, in the light of later developments and wide-spread interest in everything connected with the event, have assumed a degree of importance, and are touched upon in other parts of this work.

I well remember when, as a result of a discussion which arose between the Admiral and Captain Lamberton, as to the hour when the conflict began and when certain incidents in connection with it occurred, the Admiral asked me to find Brumby and get his opinion. Brumby was not quite sure, and so brought out a copy of the report itself and gave it to the Admiral. He consulted it, and, after satisfying himself and Lamberton as to the point at issue, remarked in an off-hand way :

“You see, Lamberton, that we are already commencing to go back to this report. This is the permanent record of the battle, and, I suppose, will always be referred to to settle disputed points. You know when I was writing it, the thought came to my mind of the responsibility resting on me to tell the story truthfully and briefly, because I knew it must become a historical paper. I am glad I had two or three days in which to collect my

THE ADMIRAL'S REPORT

thoughts before sending it. That is another advantage of having that cable cut! It isn't a literary production, but I think it will pass for a naval report."

Then, turning to me and winking to Lamber-ton, he said, with a twinkle in his eye :

" You diplomats might not think that report was quite up to the standard of your diplomatic letters to the Government, but we naval men, you know, are plain, blunt sort of fellows, and tell our stories without much *finesse*."

I enjoyed this little personal hit on the part of the great Admiral as much as did his staff-officers and others, whom every now and then he was accustomed to rally whenever he saw an opening. My reply was a simple expression of the belief that there was no diplomat living who would not be glad of an opportunity to write a report equally concise and blunt if it could record so great an achievement. Moreover, if I remember correctly, I said something about the Admiral having many opportunities to prove his quality as a diplomat as well as a naval commander.

The report* follows, as he allowed me to copy it at Manila, and published for the first time in the exact form and language which the Admiral used without the editing of the Navy Department :

* See also report of Admiral Montojo in Appendix.

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I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the squadron under my command :

1. The squadron left Mirs Bay on April 27th, immediately on the arrival of Mr. O. F. Williams, United States Consul at Manila, who brought important information, and who accompanied the squadron.

2. Arrived off Bolinao on the morning of April 30th, and, finding no vessels there, proceeded down the coast and arrived off the entrance to Manila Bay on the same afternoon.

3. The *Boston* and *Concord* were sent to reconnoitre Point Subig, I having been informed that the enemy intended to take position there. A thorough search of the port was made by the *Boston* and *Concord*, but the Spanish fleet was not found, although, from a letter afterwards found in the arsenal (inclosed with translation), it appears that it had been their intention to go there.

4. Entered the Boca Grande, or south channel, at 11.30 P.M., steaming in column at distance at eight knots. After half the squadron had passed, a battery on the south side of the channel opened fire, none of the shots taking effect. The *Boston* and *McCulloch* returned the fire.

5. The squadron proceeded across the bay at slow speed and arrived off Manila at daybreak, and was fired upon at 5.15 A.M. by three batteries at Manila and two near Cavité, and by the Spanish fleet anchored in an approximately east and west line across the mouth of Bakor Bay, with their left in shoal water in Canacao Bay.

6. The squadron then proceeded to the attack, the flagship *Olympia*, under my personal direction, leading, followed at distance by the *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Petrel*, *Concord*, and *Boston* in the order named, which formation was maintained throughout the action. The squad-

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ron opened fire at 5.41 A.M. While advancing to the attack, two mines were exploded ahead of the flagship, too far to be effective.

7. The squadron maintained a continuous and precise fire at ranges varying from 5000 to 2000 yards, counter-marching in a line approximately parallel to that of the Spanish fleet. The enemy's fire was vigorous but generally ineffective.

8. Early in the engagement two launches put out towards the *Olympia* with the apparent intention of using torpedoes. One was sunk and the other disabled by our fire and beached before an opportunity occurred to fire torpedoes. At 7 A.M. the Spanish flagship *Reina Cristina* made a desperate attempt to leave the line and came out to engage at short range, but was received with such galling fire, the entire battery of the *Olympia* being concentrated upon her, that she was barely able to return to the shelter of the point. The fires started in her by our shell at this time were not extinguished until she sank.

9. At 7.35 A.M., it having been erroneously reported to me that only fifteen rounds of ammunition per gun remained for the five-inch rapid-fire battery, I ceased firing and withdrew the squadron for consultation and a re-distribution of ammunition, if necessary.

10. The three batteries at Manila had kept up a continuous fire from the beginning of the engagement, which fire was not returned by this squadron. The first of these batteries was situated on the south mole-head at the entrance to the Pasig River, the second on the south bastion of the walled city of Manila, and the third at Malate, about one-half mile farther south. At this point I sent a message to the Governor-General to the effect that if the batteries did not cease firing the city would be shelled. This had the effect of silencing them.

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11. At 11.16 A.M., finding that the report of the scarcity of ammunition was incorrect, I returned with the squadron to the attack. By this time the flagship and almost the entire Spanish fleet were in flames, and at 12.30 P.M. the squadron ceased firing, the batteries being silenced, and the ships sunk, burned, and deserted.

12. At 12.40 P.M. the squadron returned and anchored off Manila, the *Petrel* being left behind to complete the destruction of the smaller gun-boats, which were behind the point of Cavité. This duty was performed by Commander E. P. Wood, in the most expeditious and complete manner possible.

13. The Spanish lost the following vessels: *Reina Cristina*, *Castilla*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*. Burned—*Don Juan de Austria*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Isla de Cuba*, *General Lezo*, *Marques del Duero*, *El Correo*, *Velasco*, and *Isla de Mindanao* (transport).

Captured — *Rapido* and *Hercules* (tugs) and several small launches.

14. I am unable to obtain complete accounts of the enemy's killed and wounded, but believe their loss to be very heavy. The *Reina Cristina* alone had 150 killed, including the captain, and 20 wounded.

I am happy to report that the damage done to the squadron under my command was inconsiderable. There were none killed, and only seven men in the squadron very slightly wounded. As will be seen by reports of the commanding officers which are herewith inclosed, several of the vessels were struck and even penetrated, but the damage was of the slightest, and the squadron is in as good condition as before the battle.

I beg to state to the Department that I doubt if any commander-in-chief, under similar circumstances, was ever served by more loyal, efficient, and gallant captains than those of the squadron now under my com-

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mand. Captain Frank Wildes, commanding the *Boston*, volunteered to remain in command of his vessel, although his relief arrived before leaving Hong-Kong.

Assistant-Surgeon C. P. Kindleberger, of the *Olympia*, and Gunner J. C. Evans, of the *Boston*, also volunteered to remain after orders detaching them had arrived.

The conduct of my personal staff was excellent. Commander B. P. Lamberton, Chief-of-Staff, was a volunteer for that position and gave me most efficient aid. Lieutenant T. M. Brumby, Flag-Lieutenant, and Ensign W. P. Scott, Aid, performed their duties as signal officers in a highly creditable manner. The *Olympia* being short of officers for the battery, Ensign H. H. Caldwell, Flag Secretary, volunteered, and was assigned to a subdivision of the 5-inch battery.

Mr. J. L. Stickney, formerly an officer of the United States Navy, and war correspondent of the *New York Herald*, volunteered for duty as my aid, and rendered valuable service.

While leaving to the commanding officers to comment on the conduct of the officers and men under their commands, I desire especially to mention the coolness of Lieutenant C. G. Calkins, the navigator of the *Olympia*, who came under my personal observation, being on the bridge with me throughout the entire action, and giving the ranges to the guns with an accuracy that was proved by the excellence of the firing.

On May 2d, the day following the engagement, the squadron again went to Cavité, where it remains. A landing party was sent to destroy the guns and magazines of the batteries there. The first battery, near the end of Sangley Point, was composed of two modern Trubia B. L. Rifles of 15 centimetres calibre. The second was one mile farther down the beach, and con-

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sisted of a modern Canet 12-centimetre B. L. Rifle behind improvised earthworks.

On the 3d the military forces evacuated the Cavité Arsenal, which was taken possession of by a landing party. On the same day the *Raleigh* and *Baltimore* secured the surrender of the batteries on Corregidor Island, paroling the garrison and destroying the guns.

On the morning of May 4th, the transport *Manila*, which had been aground in Bakor Bay, was towed off and made a prize.

(Signed)

GEORGE DEWEY.

III

COMMENT OF ADMIRAL DEWEY ON THE BATTLE, AND INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH IT

A FEW days after my first meeting with the Admiral, I asked him to be good enough to give me some impressions of the great battle which I might telegraph to the American press, because I knew the people at home were anxious to hear anything and everything he might say connected with his extraordinary exploit. He at first demurred and expressed doubt as to whether papers and people at home would be sufficiently interested to have what he might say incidentally on the battle telegraphed. When I explained to him, however, that the papers at that time cared little for the expense incurred, provided they could get something direct from him, and that it would go just as he said it, without unfortunate editing, he consented.

The following extracts are not the identical words that he used, but are approximately correct, and are quoted as they appeared originally in the *New York Journal, Chicago*

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

Tribune, Philadelphia Press, Boston Globe, San Francisco Examiner, and other papers, under my name. Unfortunately I have not my original notes of these interviews, because I wrote what the Admiral said on telegraph blanks and sent them off after he had looked them over. These observations of the Admiral were the first extended ones that were cabled to America, and were extensively copied by the papers for which I did not correspond. Some of the biographies which have recently been published of Admiral Dewey, notably that written by Mr. A. M. Dewey, include these interviews.

The Admiral made many side statements which were of passing interest, but the substance of what he said is as follows :

“ My detailed statement is in my report, but I can make some comment on what happened. This battle of Manila Bay was fought in Hong-Kong Harbor. That is, the hard work was done there; the execution here was not difficult. With the co-operation of the officers of the fleet, my plans were carefully studied out there, and no detail omitted. Any man who had a suggestion to make was heard, and if it was a good one it was adopted. After the indications of war were so strong that it appeared inevitable, I devoted my time and energies to making every preparation possible.

COMMENT ON BATTLE

“When we left Hong-Kong and anchored in Mirs Bay, outside of the neutrality limits, I had determined upon my line of action. When we left there, a few days later, we sailed away ready for battle, and expecting it as soon as we reached the neighborhood of Manila. From that hour of departure until we drew out of action, Sunday morning, May 1st, after destroying the Spanish squadron, we practically did not stop the engines of our ships. We came directly across from the China coast to that of Luzon, headed down towards the entrance of Manila Bay, reconnoitred Subig Bay, where it had been rumored we would find the enemy, made the entrance to Manila, passed Corregidor Island by the south channel in the darkness of the night, and steamed across the bay close to Manila, where at break of day we discovered the Spanish fleet off Cavité.

“Signalling to prepare for action and follow the flag-ship, I gave orders to steam past the enemy and engage their ships. The result you can see by looking at the sunken ships in the harbor.

“Every ship and every man did his duty well, and the marvel of it all is that not one man on our side was killed or even seriously injured. The only harm inflicted on the ships was of a trivial nature, although the Spaniards kept up a lively fire until their gun-decks were no

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longer out of water and they had no men to man the guns. The Spanish Admiral and officers and crew fought bravely and deserve credit for their valor; but all their vessels were either destroyed or sunk, with a loss of several hundred killed and nearly as many wounded.

“The battle was fiercely contested as long as it lasted; but the superiority of our fleet and ships, guns, men, and marksmanship soon won for us the victory.”

When I asked him in regard to lessons that might be learned from this battle, he replied, without giving the matter more than momentary consideration, as follows:

“In my judgment I should say that the first lesson of the battle teaches the importance of American gunnery and good guns. It confirms my early experience under Admiral Farragut, that combats are decided more by skill in gunnery and the quality of the guns than all else.

“Torpedoes and similar appliances are good in their way, but are entirely of secondary importance.

“The Spaniards, with their combined fleet and forts, were equal to us in gun-power. But they were unable to harm us because of bad gunnery.

LESSONS OF BATTLE

“Constant practice made our gunnery destructive and won the victory.

“The second lesson of this battle is the complete demonstration of the value of high-grade men. Cheap men are not wanted, not needed, and are a loss to the United States Navy. We should have none but the very best men behind the guns. It will not do to have able officers and poor men. The men in their class must be the equal of the officers in theirs. We must have the best men filling all the posts on shipboard. To make the attainments of the officers valuable we must have, as we have in this fleet, trained sailors to carry out their commands.

“The third lesson, not less important than the others, is the necessity for inspection. Everything to be used in a battle should have been thoroughly inspected by naval officials.

“If this is done, there will be no failure at a crisis in time of danger. Look at the difference between our ships and the Spanish ships. Everything the Spaniards had was supplied by contract. Their shells, their powder, all their materials were practically worthless, while ours were perfect.”

That the Admiral withdrew his squadron for breakfast was commonly reported in America after the battle, and seems to be generally

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believed to-day. I am sorry to disabuse those who cherish this little apocryphal story, but truth will out. Whether ambitious historians, the clever editor in the Navy Department, or imaginative newspaper correspondents are responsible for this legend, I do not know, but the report of the Admiral which I saw at Manila, and which is quoted literally in the previous chapter, says nothing about withdrawing for breakfast. On the other hand, he definitely states: "At 7.35 A.M., it having been erroneously reported to me that only fifteen rounds per gun remained of the five-inch rapid-fire battery, I ceased firing and withdrew the squadron for consultation and a redistribution of ammunition if necessary."

In view of the many references to this supposed incident, I one day asked the Admiral what he thought of the story that he withdrew for the purpose of taking breakfast. He smiled in thinking of the publicity that had been given to it, and told the facts as outlined in his report.

He said that at about a quarter past seven he asked Captain Lamberton to find out how many rounds of ammunition for the 5-inch guns were left. Lamberton sent word to ascertain, and the reply came back that there were only a comparatively small number—I think fifteen were reported. This seemed impossible to the

NO BREAKFAST PARTY

Admiral, but he thought it was advisable to withdraw from action and make sure about there being sufficient ammunition left, or to redistribute it among the ships. If there was only that small amount left on the *Olympia*, there should be abundance on other ships, or some mistake must have been made.

The signal went up to cease firing and withdraw from action. The Admiral summoned all the captains aboard the flag-ship, and directed the crews in the mean time to get their breakfast. The question of ammunition was investigated, and it was found that a very serious mistake indeed had been made. When the inquiry of the Admiral reached the ammunition-room, the man in charge understood the question to be : "How many rounds have been fired?" instead of "How many are remaining?" and so sent up the answer to the former instead of the latter question. The Admiral remarked that at the time he thought this must be an error, as he believed that everything had been put in thorough readiness on board the ship, and it would have been serious neglect or carelessness to have gone into battle with so little reserve ammunition.

The inspiration, therefore, for this withdrawal from action was not the pangs of hunger, but the fear that the ammunition reserve was being too rapidly depleted. It all turned

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out, however, in the best way possible. The men enjoyed a good breakfast, and were ready to finish the conflict with the Spaniards in perfect form, while the Admiral and his captains knew that they had sufficient ammunition not only to end the present battle, but fight another, if necessary, later on.

I am aware that one published report uses the phrase, "At twenty-five minutes to eight A.M. I ceased firing and withdrew the squadron for breakfast," but I do not know its origin or authority. In the report the Admiral showed me there was no such language.

It is sometimes unfortunate to destroy property conceptions, but accurate history requires it. There have been a great many references to Admiral Dewey's reasons for cutting the cable that connected Manila with the outer world. The reason that he took this step is not usually known.

Immediately after the battle was over on May 1st, the Admiral communicated with Captain - General Augustine and suggested that he should be allowed the use of the cable to communicate with his government. General Augustine refused this request. The Admiral then proposed that the cable should be made neutral, and the officials of both governments could communicate with headquar-

DEWEY AND FARRAGUT

ters at Washington and Madrid without interference by either side. Again General Augustine refused. Finally, the Admiral informed the General that he would cut the cable if he would not allow its use by the Americans. Augustine evidently believed that the Admiral would not carry out the threat, and still objected to his using it. The Admiral then forthwith ordered the *Zafiro* to pick up the cable and cut it as soon as possible. There was no delay in carrying out the order. From that time until the 14th of August there was no telegraphic communication between the Philippines and Hong-Kong.

It is possible that Admiral Dewey saw the advantage of not being hampered by too close communication with Washington, but the fact remains that if General Augustine had consented to keep the cable neutral it would not have been cut.

Farragut was an example and memory which Admiral Dewey never forgot. In discussing his feelings while passing Corregidor and entering Manila Bay, he once said :

“ I remember distinctly that, just as we were passing Corregidor and it was possible that we might come in contact with torpedoes, or have poured upon us a torrent of shells from Corregidor, I thought of Farragut’s magnificent

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behavior when I was with him in the Mississippi campaign. I could almost see him. I thought to myself: How would he act and what would he do under these circumstances? It gave me courage and strength. Later on, when we were rounding for the first attack on the Spanish fleet and they were firing upon us, the same thought came to me and steadied me at the critical moment. He was my first great teacher. I shall never forget him nor the experience I had in fighting during the Civil War. I got my baptism of fire and my first training under such conditions that when, after the lapse of thirty-six years, I again was under fire here, I had the same feelings and impulses. I even think that I felt as young here as I did there over thirty-six years ago."

IV

WHY ADMIRAL DEWEY DID NOT SAIL AWAY FROM MANILA AFTER THE BATTLE

IF there was any criticism of the Admiral and his movements implied in what was written and said in America which annoyed him and those under him, it was the repetition of the observation, "If Dewey had only sailed away!" or, "Why did not Dewey sail away?" The best answer that can be given, in the opinion not only of those at Manila, but of naval experts everywhere, is that it was so nearly impracticable and impossible for him to sail away that under the conditions it amounted to a prohibition.

In the first place, he had not sufficient coal or coal capacity to undertake the long voyage across the Pacific, nor could he venture the hazard of coaling in the open sea; he could not have coaled at any Japanese port, and it is doubtful if at that critical period in the early part of the war he would have been allowed to coal at Hong-Kong, even with the favoring

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feature of British friendliness, because only shortly before he was ordered away from there to Mirs Bay; the fastest speed of his squadron would have been that of the slowest vessel, the collier *Nanshan*, as a result of which it would have taken him nearly two months to reach America, if he could have gone, and in the meantime another Spanish squadron might have been fitted out, come to the Philippines, and completely controlled the Asiatic situation, and even prepared to descend on our Pacific coast cities. In fact, sufficient gunboats remained uncaptured in Philippine waters to have seized or destroyed all American merchant craft in Asiatic waters, as they would have done if Dewey had left them free.

If he had sailed away and met disaster, the whole world would have condemned him as a naval commander and strategist, for there was no other neighboring haven whatever that he could seek, and he would have abandoned one where he was safe and in control. If he had departed and left not only the Spanish non-combatants, but foreigners, to the mercy of conditions which would arise, with all naval protection gone, he would have been likewise censured; or if by going away he had allowed the Spaniards to recoup and thereby have prolonged the war, everybody would now say, "Why did not Dewey stay?"

WHY DEWEY REMAINED

Finally, if it be true that by a canon of international law a dependency—after the overthrow of the power that held it—cannot then be abandoned and left a prey to some other ambitious power, or the unrestrained influences of native control, but is entitled at least to the temporary protection of the conqueror, what would the world have said if Admiral Dewey had violated this sacred duty and responsibility by sailing away?

In answer to a request from me for his opinion, one of the Admiral's captains, whose name, of course, I cannot use, wrote me the following letter upon the question: "Why did Dewey not sail away after the destruction of the Spanish fleet?"

"I wish to say that under the conditions that prevailed and developed, such sailing away was impossible. Had it been possible, feasible, and wise, you may make up your mind Dewey would have gone. Not a man in the navy who was familiar with the situation in the Philippines would dare go on record to the effect that Dewey could, with discretion, have sailed away. There was no place for him to go, except home, 8000 miles away and nearly forty days' steaming. He could not go to any port in the Far East. That was prevented by the laws of neutrality. As for starting home immediately

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with his whole squadron on that long journey with all the problems of coal supply, with his speed limited to that of his slowest vessel, with no opportunities and places for repairs, and no preparations for various possibilities, no naval man would state that Dewey could have sailed away.

"There were also the immediate and unavoidable responsibility of meeting conditions that developed at Manila after the battle. You can well imagine the cry of 'Shame' and wave of criticism that would have gone up over America if Dewey had sailed away with the Spanish flag still flying over Manila, and left the Spaniards with an uncaptured point of rendezvous in the Pacific from which to proceed against us had they so chosen or been able. And yet, had he ruthlessly bombarded and destroyed Manila, with its hundreds of foreign residents, defenceless women and children, non-combatants, and millions of foreign capital, the whole world would have cried shame, and everlasting disgrace would have been on his shoulders. Moreover, there were a dozen small Spanish gunboats not destroyed that could have captured all American ships that came to the Far East.

"You and I understand the temper of the American people well enough to know that had Dewey sailed away, with all the ensuing

A CAPTAIN'S OPINION

difficulties that must have confronted his squadron, with the inevitable complications that would have followed, possibly leading to international war, with the inconsistency of leaving the Spanish flag flying in sight of our victorious ships, and with Spain suffering only the loss of a squadron which could be replaced in about thirty days, and have saved her from the crippling loss of a colonial empire which otherwise could never be replaced, a wave of remonstrance would have swept over America that would not only have condemned Dewey, but might have swept the administration from its feet.

“He took the only course open to him. He awaited the arrival of the army, and with its arrival followed all the other conditions from which he could not honorably withdraw. No, Dewey did not sail away, because Dewey knew that it was neither wise nor possible. No matter how much critics may look back now and say how this, that, and the other might have been done, we who were familiar with all the conditions and circumstances know that the Admiral followed the only course open to him.”

This letter was written to me by a man who was an authority, if any one in Dewey's fleet could be so rated, and I know that he echoed the opinions of the Admiral.

New responsibilities, moreover, kept crowd-

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ing in upon him at the time he would have sailed away if possible. There were conditions on land and sea which required his constant attention. For instance, one day soon after the battle, in a most unexpected manner, the *Callao*, an uncaptured Spanish gunboat, which had been off where it did not hear of war being declared, came sailing proudly into the bay. It would have been followed by many others, to have formed the nucleus of a new squadron, if he had abandoned the situation, which, reinforced by larger ships that would have come out from Spain, would have made that country's position even stronger in the Pacific than it was before.

In this connection, Dewey's gentleness and consideration for those who were captured were so manifest that they deserve mention. He had in him the qualities of a gentleman, which he never forgot under the most trying circumstances. His bigness of heart was continually demonstrated. A commander who is always generous in triumph is not common, but from the first to the last of the Admiral's experience in Manila, he treated Spanish officials with that deference which they so much appreciated. After the *Callao* was captured by the American ships, her commander was taken on board the *Olympia* to be questioned by the Admiral. When ushered into

CAPTURE OF THE *CALLAO*

the presence of Dewey, his manner was that of a man much frightened. He soon, however, regained his composure after the Admiral had exchanged a few words with him. The effect of the latter's kindness was such that in a few minutes he not only told his whole experience, but gave valuable information about other ships.

It was evident that the *Callao's* captain fully expected to be held as a prisoner of war. When the Admiral quietly told him that he would be allowed to return to Manila on parole, the Spanish commander's face lighted up as if he were in the presence of friends instead of enemies, and he thanked the Admiral in effusive terms.

In talking with him afterwards, he told me that he should never forget the kindness of the Admiral's eye and the gentleness of his speech and manner. He went into his presence expecting to meet a most severe, austere, and even savage-appearing individual, and he was so surprised that it almost brought tears to his eyes.

"I saw," he remarked, "in your Admiral a different kind of man entirely from what I supposed him to be when the officer who came aboard the *Callao* told of the fearful destruction of our ships. When I came into Manila I told every Spaniard that our city and

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our people would be perfectly safe from destruction or death as long as that good man was in control of the American squadron, and, long before the surrender of Manila I advised General Augustine to surrender, assuring him that he could not fail to get generous treatment from Admiral Dewey."

V

PRIDE IN THE CAVITÉ NAVY-YARD, BUT DIS- APPOINTMENT IN THE STATUE

EVERY few days during the long period from the 1st of May to the 13th of August, the Admiral was accustomed to take walks on shore at Cavité. He would go through the navy-yard, arsenals, grounds, and even out into the town, noticing carefully everything that was to be seen. He took particular interest in the navy-yard, because he regarded it as his own particular pet. His squadron had captured it all alone, and it was their prize. It showed the results of his attention and care. Everything was kept scrupulously clean, and there was everywhere the sign of industry when a force of men from the ships started work, assisted by natives who gradually in time returned after their first flight and fright. When the army came and occupied the grounds, it was somewhat difficult to keep them in such neat trim, but they soon learned that the Admiral expected them to take good care of their temporary headquarters.

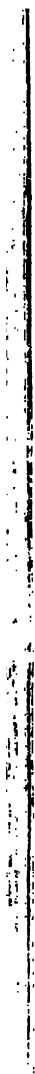
ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

When Aguinaldo first began to bring in prisoners, the Admiral was particularly interested in seeing that they were given good care. He went personally to visit the prisons, and informed him that he expected him to give the captured Spaniards wholesome food and quarters. Aguinaldo complied with the Admiral's recommendations. When any particularly prominent Spanish officers, like governors and brigadier-generals, were brought in, the Admiral sent one of his staff to see that they were not suffering, and even at times gave them some delicacies of food, which they appreciated. While credit must be given Aguinaldo for his humanity in dealing with the Spanish prisoners, which everybody complimented and appreciated, there is no doubt that the influence of the Admiral had something to do with it.

On one occasion the Admiral informally called on Aguinaldo at his headquarters in Cavité, and surprised the Filipino leader and his associates by the quiet way in which he came. They expected that, if he called, he would be attended by a detachment of marines and a considerable number of officers arrayed in full uniform. Instead of that, the Admiral walked quietly down the narrow streets of Cavité with only one staff officer, jostling natives and Spanish prisoners and Filipino sol-

SEVEN MEN OF THE U. S. NAVY, STATIONED AT THE U. S. NAVAL YARD, PUNJAB, INDIA.





THE WOODEN STATUE

diers as he passed, and walked up into the house in which Aguinaldo was staying as if it were an every-day occurrence. This modest, easy way on the part of the Admiral made a very distinct impression upon Aguinaldo and his associates. They even considered it very brave on his part to come without any escort, and afterwards spoke of it to me. This was one of the many things which helped the Filipinos to develop such a profound respect for Admiral Dewey, which, as far as I can learn, has never lessened.

Lieutenant Hodges, who had charge of the navy-yard, had been planning for some time to get possession of a statue of Elcano which was standing in the plaza of an old Spanish naval hero, and send it to Memphis, Tennessee, as a present to the municipality. One day he was standing in front of it, telling me his plans, when the Admiral came walking down the shaded path which runs through the yard. Seeing us gazing at the statue, he stopped, and, much to the chagrin and surprise of Hodges, remarked :

“Hodges, I am going to have that statue taken down and shipped to Washington or Montpelier as a present from me. I am not quite sure to which city I will send it, but I am inclined to give it to my native town as

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the first souvenir of our victory in the Philippines. I don't know whether it is best to have it taken down immediately and sent, or wait until I go home, but that is the only thing that I want in this navy-yard. That is to be my private 'loot.'"

Hodges' face fell, and he looked at me with an expression of despair as he saw all of his plans spoiled. His naval discipline, however, came to his rescue, and without hesitation he replied :

"Very well, sir, I will attend to it whenever you give me orders."

Just at that moment Lieutenant W. Kirkpatrick Brice, who, by-the-way, has the distinction of being the first man connected with the army to arrive in the Philippines after the beginning of war, joined the group and astonished us all with the observation :

"Admiral, pardon me, but did you know that that statue is made of wood, carefully painted over, and not cut out of stone?"

The Admiral was as much surprised, in turn, and even chagrined as was Hodges when the Admiral destroyed his hope.

"Made of wood," rejoined the Admiral, "then I don't want it. It can be thrown into the sea or burned up, for all I care. But what a pity! The workmanship is excellent, and at this distance it looks like stone. I am really

STATUE LIKE SPANIARDS

most disappointed, because ever since the first day that I walked through this navy-yard, I have said to myself that this statue was the only thing that I cared to carry away."

Then, oddly enough, he turned to Hodges, without any knowledge of the latter's previous intentions, and said, jokingly:

"Hodges, you can have that statue. Send it back to your native city or town, and everybody will praise you for your generosity, and they will meet you with a brass-band when you return."

Hodges quietly thanked him, and as the Admiral walked away, went and got a ladder to absolutely convince himself that the thing was made of wood. After he had stuck his knife into it several times, he decided that he had no more use for it than had the Admiral.

Some days later Captain Chichester came over to see Admiral Dewey, and the Admiral told him about this wooden statue, saying:

"That statue, captain, covered over with a kind of cement or paint, is a good illustration of the Spanish way of doing everything. It is a sham and a fraud. It was the same way with their ships, their gunnery, and, I imagine, with their government, not only in the Philippines and Cuba, but in Spain. The only wonder is that they have stood the wear and tear of international relations as long as they have.

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That statue might remain there for a hundred years, but if it got one good blow, it would go to pieces. That has been the experience with Spain so far in this war, and I think you will see it soon ended, because she has not the strength and thoroughness to resist."

Captain Chichester chuckled in his sea-dog fashion, winked his eye at me, and agreed with what the Admiral had said. The comparison was so apt and good that I made particular note of it when a few minutes later I went down in the wardroom to tell Lieutenant Rees and "Colonel" Smith of both the Admiral and Hodges' disappointment in the wooden statue.

Montpelier may know now, for the first time, why the Admiral has not sent them any particular souvenir of the battle of Manila.

VI

ADMIRAL DEWEY AND THE GERMANS

THE American people cannot be too grateful to Admiral Dewey for his successful direction of relations with the German Admiral, Von Diederichs, at Manila. Those of us who were there will never forget his mingled diplomacy and courage in dealing with a troublesome situation that might have led to war with a less brave and tactful man in charge. There were times when his patience was sorely taxed, and to those whom he could trust he made observations that cannot be published. It may cover the ground if I say that I know that he was vexed by the movements of the ships of the German squadron and the attitude of the German Admiral ; but I must add that he was invariably confident as to the outcome, and believed that if left to himself and hampered by no instructions from Washington he could settle the little unpleasantness to the complete satisfaction of all concerned.

From the beginning to the end of the Ger-

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man episode, he endeavored, in every dignified way, to avoid a collision, and would seek in his consideration of the activity of the German ships some other motive than intentional hostility to himself and the United States. While he deplored their seeming disregard of the courtesies due a blockading squadron, he never, to my knowledge, said that he believed that they were really planning and hoping for trouble with him. When any discussion arose in a gathering of persons or officers where he was present over the conduct of the German ships, he strove to minimize the matter and allay any excitement. There was a certain limit beyond which the German Admiral could not have gone. Up to that limit Dewey chose to use diplomatic methods to check his restless visitor rather than foster a feeling of resentment at home towards the Germans, which might develop into a wave of popular remonstrance and bring unfortunate complications.

Judging from notes which I made at the time, Admiral Dewey apparently reasoned as follows :

“The United States do not want war with Germany, and Germany does not want war with the United States. War might result from conditions here in the Philippines, but it can be avoided. War will not come on our part except on my initiative. It is therefore my

FIRM WITH THE GERMANS

duty to do all in my power to prevent complications which might help to bring on war, even if I must submit to some irregularities of action on the part of the German Admiral."

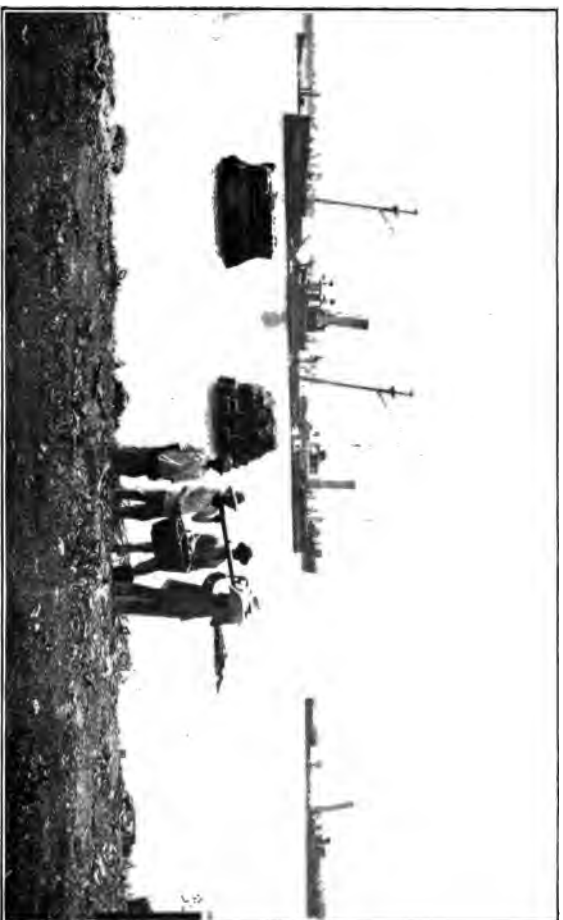
Dewey, moreover, appreciated, up to the time when the *Monterey* arrived, that the German squadron was stronger in ships, equipment, and armored protection than his own squadron, and that it would be folly to think of fighting until he was reinforced.

Instead, then, of assuming a belligerent attitude, he took a firm stand for his rights, without bullying or boastfulness, which had the desired effect. When the Germans realized that he objected to their activity in and around Manila Bay, and that he intended to check it, not by war or threats of war, but by forceful diplomatic insistence on his undoubted rights, they began to mend their course, and finally ceased to be a source of irritation.

The record of the famous Subig Bay incident is a good illustration of the Admiral's temper and manner of doing things. Being on the *Olympia* at the time, I well remember the details. A Filipino officer came aboard from a small native steamer which had just returned from Subig Bay, and informed the Admiral that the German ship *Irene* had interfered with their free movements in Subig Bay and were rescu-

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ing a Spanish garrison on Isle de Grande at the mouth of Subig Bay. After he had heard all the details the Filipino officer could give him, he ordered, without any sign of excitement, Brumby to signal Captains Coghlan and Walker, of the *Raleigh* and *Concord*, to come aboard for instructions, and for their ships to get up steam as quickly as possible. Shortly afterwards they were headed for Subig Bay. As they approached the entrance, or as soon as they came in sight, the *Irene* weighed anchor without delay, and making a long détour out to sea, plainly to avoid the American ships, returned to Manila Bay. The *Raleigh* and *Concord* continued on their course, took possession of the island, practically turned over the garrison to the Filipino officers in charge of that section, and returned to Manila. It turned out later that the German ship had not interfered directly with the Filipino vessel, but had, however, acted in a manner towards it and towards the Spaniards on the island for which it had no excuse without permission of Admiral Dewey. For instance, it not only sailed around the bay in a way to intimidate the Filipino vessel, which was preparing to attack the Spaniards, but anchored off the island and took on board a number of priests and other Spaniards and brought them back to Manila, delivering them on shore without again getting authority from the Admiral.



FOUR OF THE SMALLER SPANISH GUNBOATS SUNK ON MAY 1, 1898

• SUBIG BAY INCIDENT

The quick, strong action of the Admiral in sending out the *Raleigh* and the *Concord* had, however, a most salutary effect on the German squadron's movements. It showed them that the Admiral would not tolerate what was strictly against the rules of war. He did nothing to offend them, but still he acted with a force and despatch that told them he could not be caught sleeping. Later, one of the officers of the *Irene* told me in Hong-Kong that they actually thought that the *Raleigh* and *Concord* intended to give them battle, but they put out to sea, knowing that their superior speed would enable them to get away. When they saw that they were not pursued they made a circuit and came around to Manila, rejoining their squadron. He added that this incident was not forgotten, and while none of the under officers of the German ships knew the reason for their activity, they always bore this affair in mind as tangible evidence that there was a limit to the Admiral's patience. From what this and other German officers told me, I do not believe that there were a dozen men in the German squadron who understood why they were manœuvring in such force in a blockaded harbor. They may have had a general idea, but they did not know the specific cause or orders.

All the newspaper correspondents at Ma-

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nila can remember the excitement that accompanied this Subig incident, and the composure with which the Admiral treated it. He counselled them not to send exaggerated reports, or statements not actually confirmed by facts, saying that the affair might be easily misunderstood or overcolored in America and cause undue excitement, adding, as he often did in giving advice on such points :

“Leave this matter to me, and do not trouble yourselves unnecessarily about it. I myself will settle all difficulties with the Germans, if you do not get the officials and people in America by the ears and arouse them to do all sorts of things that will embarrass me.” Then, in order to quiet any excitement, he said : “There is nothing to fear from what has happened in Subig Bay. No trouble will result from it.”

What occurred was, in a measure, actually serious, but there was no firing whatever on the part of the American ships upon the German vessel. They fired at the Spanish fort on the island, and that is all. The *Irene* steamed away so speedily that she never was in range of the American guns, even if there had been occasion to fire on her. Later, the German Admiral endeavored to explain to Admiral Dewey that the action of the *Irene* was not intended as a reflection in any respect upon

GERMAN LAUNCH FIRED ON

the American blockade, but was simply an act of kindness towards some non-combatants who were on the island. Whatever was the real German purpose, Admiral Dewey managed the affair in the only and best way possible under the circumstances.

Possibly the incident that aroused at the moment the most excitement on the *Olympia*, and throughout the American fleet, during the unpleasantness with the Germans, was the unfortunate effort of a steam-launch from the German Admiral's flag-ship to come to the *Olympia* after dark. Those familiar with methods of warfare know that for any small craft to approach a war-vessel at night without the password or counter-signalling, means that it will surely be fired upon, and, if possible, sunk. If a search-light is thrown upon such a boat it is also the rule of warfare, if it is not the enemy, to stop immediately. In fact, no friendly boat would attempt to approach a foreign war-vessel at night without either being escorted or having special permission.

One evening, when the relations with the Germans were most strained, a launch was discovered by the lookout, about half-past seven, coming directly towards the *Olympia*. He called out "Boat, ahoy!" No answer came. He repeated. Again no answer came. This shout-

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ing had attracted the attention of the Admiral and Captain Lamberton. The Admiral jumped up, went to the side of the deck, peered out into the darkness, and called to the officer on the deck :

“Why don’t you fire? It doesn’t stop!”

There rang out the report of the 6-pounder, but the launch kept coming. Then the Admiral ordered with an angry tone :

“Fire again, and fire to hit!”

The search-light of the *Olympia* was turned full on the bold intruder and displayed a boat flying the German colors. The second shot was well aimed. It struck the water within three feet of the launch and splashed water all over it. It had the necessary effect. The boat stopped. A launch which had been sent out to meet it, then escorted it to the *Olympia*. Up the ladder walked one of Admiral Von Diederichs’s staff-officers, in full uniform, and shaking with excitement or fear. On his way to the *Olympia* he had said to Ensign Butler who had been sent to meet him :

“Why do you fire upon me? This is a launch from the German Admiral’s flag-ship, flying the German colors, and I am a German officer. Why should you fire? You could see the flag in the light.” Butler discreetly made no reply, leaving that for the Admiral as soon as he should see the German visitor.

THE INCIDENT EXPLAINED

When the German officer was escorted to the presence of Admiral Dewey, the latter lost no time in telling him in plain terms what he thought of this exploit. According to my note-book, as the incident was related to me the next day by one of the officers present, the Admiral said :

“Do you appreciate what you have done? Do you know that such a rash act on your part is against all the rules of war, and might even have been the cause of serious trouble between your country and mine? Suppose that shot had killed you and sunk your launch, the effect might have been to have brought on misunderstandings and a conflict. It would have been very easy for a Spanish boat meaning us harm to have put up a German flag and sunk the *Olympia* if we did not stop it in time. There is no excuse for such carelessness. You should understand the rules of war in a matter of this kind. Please present my compliments to your Admiral, and ask him to direct his officers to be more careful in the future.”

The officer endeavored to explain the incident by stating that a German collier had come into the harbor late, and Admiral Von Diederichs wished to get permission that night for it to join his squadron off Manila. Thinking there would be time to communicate with Ad-

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miral Dewey before it was too late, he sent this staff-officer to attend to the errand.

There is little doubt of the good intention of the German Admiral and officer in this affair, but the ignorance it displayed of the rules of war may help to explain much of the general activity of the German squadron in a blockaded harbor. Possibly their motives were all right, but, from lack of experience, they did not appreciate what were the courtesies due the blockading squadron and its commander.

This incident was really a most serious one at the time, and provoked extended discussion throughout the squadron for many days. As we look back to it now, it may not seem of much importance, but from the special stress that was laid on it at the time, I believe that it is worthy of this detailed description.

The question has often been asked: "Why did the Admiral suggest to the Navy Department the imperative need of being reinforced by one or two battle-ships, such as the *Oregon* and *Iowa*?" Without violating any state secrets, I can say that the Admiral wanted them for the plain and simple reason that he wished to be prepared in the event of Germany or any other European power becoming complicated with America in the settlement of the Philippine question. All those who were intimately

NEEDED MORE SHIPS

associated with him heard him express many times the opinion that the Government should send him at least one, and if practicable two, of our best battle-ships, because it was impossible to foretell what might happen. The attitude of the Germans in Manila Bay had been a surprise, he argued, and there might be still greater surprises in store. At that time the fleets of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and Japan were stronger than ours. Considering the tremendous responsibilities that we had assumed in the Philippines, larger and better vessels were needed for our naval force. In the same way that the Admiral prepared for every other contingency, he wished to be ready for this one. There was no doubt in his mind that if the *Monterey* and *Monadnock* had arrived at Manila when he most wanted them, there would never have been any German demonstration.

Hale and hearty Captain Sir Edward Chichester, of the *Immortalité*, said to me last November, in Hong-Kong :

“Your Admiral accomplished by tact, firmness, and good judgment in Manila Bay what many naval men would have thought only possible by war. Dewey is a natural fighter, but true fighter that he is, he prefers to win a peaceful victory. He is a great man.”

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That is the testimony of one of Briton's noblest old sea-dogs, and no man is better authority. When the accurate history of the long period of waiting at Manila is fully known to our people, they will not only find that all their praise and love of Dewey are deserved, but that their thanks are due Captain Chichester for the tangible moral support that his unique personality gave Dewey during the most discouraging days of the summer, when nobody knew what the next week or month had in store.

My conclusion in regard to Dewey's experience with Von Diederichs is this: It proved beyond quibble or doubt that he is a great diplomatist and statesman as well as naval commander. He accomplished what is a desideratum of true diplomacy—the achievement of the object or purpose without entailing counter responsibilities or developing conditions more serious than those originally involved.

Admiral Dewey was undoubtedly moved more than once to speak in the plainest terms to representatives of Admiral Von Diederichs, but there was so much moral force and logic of position in what he said that the German commander could not possibly take offence.

Then the Admiral knew, as others about him did, that the Germans in the Far East, and

DIPLOMATIC WITH GERMANY

probably a good part of the German people, did not really appreciate what was going on at Manila, and were not in sympathy with this naval demonstration.

NOTE.—The famous interview which Admiral Dewey had with the flag-lieutenant of Vice-Admiral von Diederichs is added here as told to me by one of the officers of the *Olympia* who heard the conversation. I did not incorporate it in the main text, because I have only received at the last moment his permission to use it:

“The German flag-lieutenant came to see the Admiral shortly after the *Irene* incident at Subig Bay. The Admiral was not, therefore, feeling in very good mood. Some of the *Olympia*'s officers happened to be sitting under the after-skylight, and overheard what passed. As soon as the German officer was shown into the presence of the Admiral, the latter began to discuss the situation. The Admiral has a way of working himself up to a state of great earnestness as he thinks out a question. Commencing in a subdued tone, he gradually became querulous and then emphatic as he spoke of the activity of the Germans. Growing more earnest, his voice took a higher pitch until he complained in vigorous terms of what had been done:

“‘If the German Government has decided to make war on the United States, or has any intention of making war, and has so informed your Admiral, it is his duty to let me know.’

“Hesitating a moment, he added:

“‘But, whether he intends to fight or not, I am ready.’

“Then, having given vent to his suppressed feelings, he quieted down like a calm after a storm. The German officer made some hurried apologies, and hastened away, remarking to one of the officers of the *Olympia*, ‘Mein Gott! Mein Gott! What is the matter with your Admiral to-day?’”

VII

ADMIRAL DEWEY'S TREATMENT OF NEWSPAPER MEN

POSSIBLY in no way did Admiral Dewey's traits of character show to better advantage than in his treatment of newspaper men. Never seeking their attention or suggesting any references to himself, he was both courteous and firm, and often more considerate of them and their wishes than they had a right to expect. I never heard a newspaper man at Manila—and I knew them all well—speak other, even in private, than in most respectful terms of the Admiral. They agreed that he personally was the fairest and best press censor of all those who held sway over their telegrams from the opening of hostilities to the present.

I would cast no reflection on Lieutenant Brumby, to whom the Admiral soon turned over the responsibilities of censorship, but neither he nor any one else in navy or army could rival the Admiral in quick perception

PRESS CENSORSHIP

of what was permissible news and what was not, together with the rare faculty of showing to the correspondent, with unfailing urbanity, why this or that sentence should be changed or omitted. But he did not stop there. If he saw that an important item was missing, either from lack of information or fear of its being cut out, he would suggest that it be inserted, thus saving many correspondents the unhappy experience of being "scooped." He was not harsh in his restrictions; in fact, he was inclined to be more liberal than Brumby, and certainly more tolerant than Colonel Thompson of the army. The colonel was a genial companion and a brilliant signal-officer, but he was not cut out for a press censor. Even General Otis, although personally respected by them, never quite understood the newspaper men and how to get on with them. Admiral Dewey met them and managed them as if they were his old friends of the Metropolitan Club—and yet it was his first extended experience in that line of responsibility which the conditions of modern times have imposed on those who are first in war as well as on those who are first in peace.

The best evidence of the success of his method is that during the long period from May 1st to August 13th, when the censorship was controlled on the *Olympia*, not one correspond-

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ent took unfair advantage of the simple rules that governed despatches. It would have been possible at any time to have sent different telegrams than those which were inspected, for two reasons: first, the despatches were never visaed by any mark or stamp, but merely read; second, they were all sent under personal cover to Hong-Kong, there to be forwarded.

The Admiral's code for newspaper men was brief, but comprehensive and expressive. He said:

"Gentlemen, you are left largely to your own good and experienced judgment, not only as correspondents but as American citizens, but you will always bear in mind that you must not send what will give actual aid and comfort to the enemy, or that which will unduly excite and disturb the people at home."

If he made up his mind that certain statements should not be wired, there was nothing to be gained by arguing the question; but if he entertained the slightest doubt he would listen carefully to the correspondent's prayer and, if convinced, pass the despatch. It may surprise Lieutenant Brumby to read here that it was not uncommon for the Admiral, on the quiet appeal of the correspondents, to allow messages to be sent which the former had disapproved. This did not reflect on Brumby, or destroy discipline, but meant that the Admiral, in the

HIS URBANITY AND FIRMNESS

fulness of his knowledge, often saw things with a wider vision than members of his staff. Brumby, however, was uniformly considerate and courteous, and a faithful officer. In the Admiral's dealings with the newspaper correspondents the traits of character that emphasized themselves were tact and urbanity, mingled with due dignity and firmness. These supreme qualities of diplomacy which were brought out so fully later, not only in his dealings with the German Admiral, but with Aguinaldo and his leaders, were first plainly evinced in his treatment of newspaper men.

One incident which I particularly remember will illustrate his methods as well as his high motives. Something had happened which was fairly pregnant with sensational possibilities. It was assuredly teeming with news. It concerned, as such items usually did for a considerable period, the German squadron's movements. All the correspondents prepared vivid but even then accurate descriptions. Brumby referred so important a subject to the Admiral. Quoting again from notes made at the moment, I find that the Admiral said :

“If you gentlemen wish, you can send these telegrams just as you have written them, but I hope you will not. If you forward your despatches at this time, when our people are excited to the fever-point, your news may be the

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influence that will inspire them to demand action on the part of the government that would not only seriously embarrass it at Washington, but me right here, and might lead to further complications and war. Now if you will let the matter alone and leave it to me I will settle it all right, we will save great excitement at home, and avoid all chances of war. Do just as you think best."

It is needless to add that there was no further argument.

Here the Admiral's one noble desire to serve his country to the best of his ability, even to the extent of removing causes of irritation that in their development might have brought him greater laurels, was uppermost in his mind, and impelled him to use arguments which in his accurate knowledge of human nature he recognized would keep every newspaper man from disregarding his wishes.

The correspondents at Manila, while not as well known to the general public as those who went to Cuba, were a high class of men. They will, I think, unanimously agree with my opinion of the Admiral—not because it is the fashion to praise him, but because their own individual experience prompts them.

The list of newspaper men at Manila, whom I had the pleasure of knowing well, and who were brought into contact with the Admiral,

LIST OF CORRESPONDENTS

more or less, included: McCutcheon, *Chicago Record*; Harden, *New York World*; Stickney, *New York Herald*; Egan, *San Francisco Chronicle*; Davis, *New York Sun* and Laffan's Agency; Bass and Millét, *HARPER'S WEEKLY*; Sheridan and Boeringer, *San Francisco Call*; White, Knight, Creelman, Wildman, and myself, *New York Journal*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Boston Globe*, *Philadelphia Press*, and *San Francisco Examiner*; Jones and Brooks, Associated Press; Cowan, Reuter's Agency; McDonnell, *New York Journal* and *Hong-Kong Press*; Reid, *London Times* and *China Mail*; Fay and Palmer, *New York World*; Peters, *Leslie's*; Wells, *Evening Post*; Skeene, Scripps-McRae League.

The most and best that I can say of them is that every one served his respective paper to the full extent of his ability, that not one ever showed signs of fear or cowardice under the most trying circumstances, and that in everything they did and everywhere they went they were trusted and respected alike by army and navy. I am proud to have been intimately associated as a fellow-correspondent with such men.

The Admiral could have made a small fortune in writing articles for magazines and newspapers if he had accepted only a part of the offers made to him. He steadfastly refused from the very first to consider any of them, and said in most

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pronounced terms that under no circumstances would he write any article for a magazine or newspaper. He collected the numerous letters and telegrams that came to him from publishers all over the world, and, calling together one day a number of the newspaper correspondents, remarked jocosely in an off-hand way:

“Here is an opportunity for you enterprising journalists. With your array of brilliancy, I know that you will be preferred to me. I will distribute among you these different requests for articles, and when you get paid you can divide the profits with me. You can write much better than I can, and your names signed to the articles will carry more weight than mine, because everybody would say, if my name was signed, that I was blowing my own horn. Don't you think I am generous?”

If I remember correctly, there were orders in this bunch of letters and telegrams for articles whose value in payment would aggregate over \$25,000.

The Admiral always appreciated the humorous side of even the most serious matters, provided the time was suitable for joking. One day he told several of us that he had new names for the *Callao* and *Leyte*, the two little Spanish gun-boats that had been captured. He said:

SUGGESTED NAMES FOR BOATS

“I have made a suggestion to Lamberton which I think is a very good one. You know they have just given the names of two colleges, Harvard and Yale, to two of the merchant cruisers which have been pressed into the navy, the *New York* and the *Paris*. Here we have the *Callao* and *Leyte*. Those names are hardly suitable, in view of this new fashion. I think I shall therefore recommend to the Secretary that the *Leyte* be renamed the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, and the *Callao* the *Pennsylvania College of Physicians and Surgeons*.”

Harden then advised the Admiral to telegraph these changes in their full length to Secretary Long at three dollars a word; but John McCutcheon, wishing to show his appreciation of the joke, had two sailor-hats decorated with ribbons carrying these long names, and presented them to the Admiral. He probably still has them as souvenirs of this little fun.

The correspondents, in the long period between the 1st of May and the 13th of August, when they made their headquarters with the navy, were coming and going aboard the *Olympia* almost every day. If it was necessary, the Admiral would see them. Whenever they were approaching the ship in their special boat, which

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the Admiral had given them, the orderly would come back and inform him that the correspondents were coming alongside. He always wanted to know, so that if he desired he could send for them. They often had valuable information which they had gathered on land. One day an able seaman, who was acting temporarily as orderly, came back, saluted the Admiral, and said, with the utmost dignity and sincerity :

“The *co*-respondents are coming aboard, sir !”

The Admiral looked up and said :

“The what ?”

“The *co*-respondents, sir—they newspaper fellows.”

The Admiral restrained himself until the orderly had departed, and then called Lamberton to tell him, and have a good laugh about the new name that had been given the newspaper men. Ever afterwards they were spoken of on the *Olympia* by the officers as the “*co*-respondents.” This applied particularly to the little corps of men who faithfully represented the American press before they were reinforced by the larger number that followed later, and included McCutcheon, Harden, Egan, Stickney, and myself.

On account of the newspaper men making their headquarters on different ships of the

MCCUTCHEON AND "CERVERA"

squadron, it was necessary for them to get a boat of their own to go about the harbor and from ship to ship. Whenever they could, they caught a ride on the launches passing back and forth, but these could not be depended upon. The Admiral was therefore asked to give them one of the boats which the Spaniards had left. He readily consented, with his characteristic interest in our welfare, and we soon had as trim a little craft as there was on the bay. The crew were Filipinos, whom we secured from Aguinaldo by special order. I still have in my possession the permit signed by the insurgent chief, on which he wrote :

"Senor Barrett can have five men as a crew for his boat, and they shall be allowed to come and go without molestation."

It is in Tagalog dialect, but this is a literal translation. Our captain had seen service on the *Reina Cristina*, of which nearly half the crew were natives. We named him "Montejo." He did not like it at first, but finally accepted it philosophically. Later on he resigned. His successor, who came after the battle of Santiago, we named "Cervera." When the crew was disbanded after the fall of Manila, Cervera remained the faithful servant of John McCutcheon. One day, when John lost his watch, he concluded to do away with Cervera. Colonel Charles Jewett, Judge-Advo-

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cate-General, who, by-the-way, was one of the ablest and most popular men at Manila, lent his valuable judicial assistance in helping John recover his stolen property, but even his efforts were unavailing. The colonel, therefore, in his inimitable style, gave Harden, Egan, McCutcheon, Davis, and myself, who occupied the same mansion together, called "Casa Todos" by the genial colonel, much valuable advice on placing too much trust in the wily native. If I remember correctly, the colonel himself was imposed upon to some degree by a trusted employé, so that he found that even judges were not respected in the matter of personal profit for the native individual who saw an opportunity to take advantage of his confiding master.

During the long period of waiting for the army to come, when there was little excitement in Manila Bay, the newspaper men often amused themselves by working off jokes on each other. Two of the brightest spirits in this respect were John McCutcheon and Martin Egan. Soon after Egan arrived, he was going over the list of captains with McCutcheon to see if he knew them all and would be able to recognize them. They went down through the list until they came to Captain Walker of the *Concord*. Now it happens



DEWEY ON THE BRIDGE OF THE *PENSACOLA* DURING HER
CRUISE IN EUROPEAN WATERS

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SOME NAVAL WHISKERS

that Walker wears a tremendously bushy mustache that flares out in every direction, and it is the most noticeable feature of his face. John said :

“ You don’t know Captain Walker, Egan ? ”

“ No,” answered Egan, eagerly, “ I haven’t the slightest idea what he looks like. Tell me.”

“ Well,” said John, with his usual drawl, “ when you see a man who looks like an explosion in a mattress factory, then you’ll know it’s Captain Walker.”

The joke may have been on Captain Walker, but the laugh was on Egan for having his curiosity so explicitly satisfied.

Egan laid low for revenge. He thought over the whiskers proposition, and finally settled on Martin, the popular paymaster of the *Boston*, who wore a tremendous reddish bushy beard which at times, when his hat was pulled down over his eyes, almost obscured his countenance. One day, as we were sitting on the poop of the *McCulloch*, Egan came up to McCutcheon and said :

“ Do you know, John, I don’t think it’s really fair for us to fight the Spaniards with such men as Martin of the *Boston*, do you ? ”

McCutcheon, in his bland, innocent way, and forgetful of his Walker story, immediately said : “ I don’t know ; why not ? ”

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“ Well, don’t you see, John, Martin is all the time in ambush !”

There was a moment’s hesitation before McCutcheon saw the point, but when he did he acknowledged that the laugh was on him, although the joke was on Martin with enveloping growth of bushy whiskers.

This is only one of the many pleasantries that were exchanged among the newspaper men in the long weary days.

The men on all the ships were so kind to the correspondents that it is difficult to select any who were more so than others, but aside from the captain and staff-officers of the *Olympia*, Lamberton, Brumby, Caldwell, Scott, we cannot forget Rees, Calkins, Nelson, Morgan, Strite, Taylor, Upham, Kavanagh, Butler, Dr. Price and his assistant Dr. Page, Paymaster Smith and his jolly helpers Long and Rightmire, Chief-Engineer Entwistle and his assistants Kaemmerling, DeLany, Dunn, and Marshall, together with Captain Biddle and Chaplain Reaney ; on the *Baltimore*, aside from Captain Dyer, were Briggs, Holmes, Ford, Holcombe, Kellogg, Hayward, McCormick, Elliott, Bellows, Dr. Smith, Cone, and Lieutenant Williams ; on the *Boston*, Captain Wildes, Lieutenant - Commander Norris, Lieutenant Gibson, Scott, Everhart, Doddridge, Dr. Blake-

OUR NAVAL FRIENDS

man, Paymaster Martin, and Lieutenant Dutton; on the *Raleigh*, genial Captain Coghlan, Lieutenant-Commander Phelps, Lieutenants Winder, Rodman, Morgan, Pearson, Treadwell, Dr. Carpenter, Paymaster Heap, and brave Tappan, who afterwards was commander of the *Callao*; on the *Concord*, quiet Captain Walker, Lieutenant-Commander Colvocoresses, Lieutenants Hourigan, Howard, Ensigns Kaiser, Davidson, Knepper, Pay-clerk Hunt, and Dr. Brodrick; on the *Petrel*, Commander Wood, Lieutenants Hughes, Fisk, Plunkett, Engineer Hall, and Dr. Brownell; and on the *McCulloch*, Foley, Joynes, Ridgely, Atlee, Dr. Greene, Mel—all the officers who did so much to make the newspaper men comfortable who stayed on that ship; and Lieutenant Hodges of the Navy Yard, McLean of the *Zafiro*, Naval Constructor Capps, Singer of the *Manila*, Bradshaw of the *Callao*. These are the men with whom the newspaper men were thrown particularly in contact during the period between the 1st of May and the 13th of August. The *Charleston* and *Monterey* came respectively in early July and August, but then the army had arrived and our attentions were divided and not given entirely to the Navy. As these and more ships came, there were also on them generous spirits similar to those found on the others.

VIII

ADMIRAL DEWEY DISCUSSES A POSSIBLE BATTLE WITH CAMARA'S SQUADRON

THE Admiral prepared for all contingencies. He never intended to be surprised. From the first to the last of the discussion in regard to Camara's possible coming from Spain with a strong squadron to undertake the destruction of the American fleet and the recapture of Manila Bay, he was in readiness for the issue. When the first word came that Camara had sailed eastward and it was known that he had actually started, the Admiral expressed confidence at the outset that the Spanish commander would never get beyond the Suez Canal, but remarked that, if he did come, he had no fear of the result. I often heard Admiral Dewey debating the conditions that surrounded Camara in his supposed intentions to come to the Philippines with Captain Lamberton of the *Olympia*, Captain Chichester of the *Immortalité*, and groups of newspaper men. In all that was said, the opinion was prevalent

NO FEAR OF CAMARA

that with the very best squadron that Camara could get together, he would be at a disadvantage in fighting the Americans after such a long cruise half-way round the earth. Although he had in the *Pelayo* one of the best battle-ships in the world, and several other armored vessels, their advantage would be offset by their lack of condition when they arrived. The Admiral, in summing up the situation one day, said :

“ When you consider on the one side our perfect condition, the skilled gunnery and practice of our men, the prestige gained from the first victory as well as the confidence that is born of the fight on May 1st, the power to select our place for fighting, our capacity to fit out a large number of small craft as torpedo-boats ; and when, on the other hand, you consider the effect on the Spaniards and their ships of the long cruise almost entirely through the tropics from Cadiz to Manila, the lack of training of the men on the ships, their natural respect for us as enemies who have already won one victory, the necessity of their being prepared for surprise, not knowing when and where they would be attacked, and the general inferiority which we are all confident characterizes the Spanish sailorman in comparison with the American, the odds are certainly in our favor. At the same time, I recognize the

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strength of battle-ships and armored cruisers in combat with our vessels, which are entirely unarmored. It is a great pity that there is not much prospect of the *Monterey* and *Monadnock* getting here before the Spanish fleet can, if they really intend to carry out their announced plans. It is not probable that we would have any such victory as we had before. The chances would be that some of our vessels would be sunk and many of our men would be killed, but in the end the triumph would surely be with us. I have no doubt of that whatever."

When it was suggested to him that in such a conflict the *Olympia* might be the centre of the enemy's fire, and he himself killed, he immediately remarked.

"Oh, that would not make the slightest difference. With such captains as Wildes, Dyer, Coghlan, and the others equally brave and masters of strategy, the fight would go on with no interruption. When we came down to Manila that was all arranged as a possibility in the first battle, and I never worried a moment as to the effect of my being killed. That's the advantage of having strong men under you whom you can trust."

Although it was evident that the Admiral and his captains were satisfied to a large degree in their own minds that Camara would not come, the Admiral made his preparations for

READY TO FIGHT AGAIN

such an eventuality. To begin with, however, it must be understood that the squadron was all the time kept up to a fighting point. Every ship was in perfect condition, every man knew his duty, and every day witnessed that kind of drilling which still further trained officers and men for the possibilities of battle.

I cannot remember any time from May until the fall of Manila in August, when Admiral Dewey could not have got his ships into action within a few hours, or at least a day, after receiving warning. Of course all of the ships did not keep their fires going as long as it was absolutely known that there was no enemy at hand, but if there were ever any signs of trouble in Manila Bay, or that the ships would be required elsewhere, the Admiral immediately ordered the captains to get up steam. The squadron, as it lay across the entrance to Cavité Bay, was in such a line that, had an enemy suddenly and unexpectedly steamed in, the Admiral could have fought his ships to the best advantage until they could have gotten up steam and manœuvred for other positions.

One morning when chatting with the Admiral, I remarked to him that he looked tired and as if he had not had sufficient sleep.

"Yes, I presume I do. I slept only a few hours last night. I started thinking about the possibilities of a fight with Camara, and I did

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not go to sleep until I had gone all over in my thoughts a plan of battle from beginning to end. It is so much on my mind that it often keeps me awake, or at least disturbs my sleep."

"It is not, however, worry," he continued, "but simply profound interest in the matter and a desire to be prepared for anything that may come. There is nothing more fascinating than studying out all the details of a battle, and then again there is nothing so fortunate, when the battle comes, as finding that you are ready for every turn in the tide or new condition that arises. In the same way, before we left Hong-Kong, we arranged for every possibility, and were able to carry out our plans to the letter."

About a week after this last conversation occurred, I happened to be aboard the *McCulloch* spending a few hours with John McCutcheon, of the *Chicago Record*, Ed Harden, of the *New York World*, and Mart Egan, of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, three as fine all-round newspaper men as ever lived. Suddenly the signal went up on the *Olympia* for the *McCulloch* to prepare to get under way, as the Admiral was coming aboard. In a few minutes the barge put off from the *Olympia*. He came aboard the *McCulloch* and directed the captain



THE ISLA DE MINDANAO, A SPANISH ARMED TRANSPORT AND MERCHANTMAN
As she looked three days after the great battle, showing effect of fire and shells

E DEWEY

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1

A TRIP DOWN THE BAY

to run down to Corregidor and Marivales. He was feeling in very good spirits that morning, took a comfortable seat aft on the poop, and began to laugh and joke with us as if he were out for a holiday. A good strong breeze was blowing in from the sea, the *McCulloch* sped along like a torpedo-chaser, and the ozone, flooding the Admiral's lungs, gave a zest to his appearance and remarks which made us all feel that we were having an opportunity to see the great man at his best and without any reservations of dignity. He asked questions like a school-boy, and answered others with as much readiness as if he were a teacher. He did not even suggest to the newspaper men that they were not to take advantage of what he was saying, because he knew that they would not. This confidence and trust of the Admiral in them was always noticeable, and I do not think he had occasion to regret it. He seldom, if ever, would say: "Remember, now, this is not for publication," but would go on talking on serious and light matters, leaving it to his companions to understand that his confidence was not to be violated.

The real object of the Admiral's visit to Marivales that day was twofold: first, to take a look around the entrance to the bay and confirm some of his plans as to the possibilities of fighting Camara there if he came, and sec-

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ond, to see what the German ships were doing in Marivales Bay. This occurred so long ago that I am at liberty to speak of the Admiral's motive for this little side trip. He plainly stated his object, and he had good reason for wishing to go there. This was just at the time when the German ships were going back and forth two or three times a day to Marivales, and when the indications really pointed to Camara's coming to the Philippines. We found three German ships in Marivales Harbor, or inlet, one of which was being coaled from a German collier which had come in the night before. We steamed in and around the Germans, saw no special signs of activity beyond coaling, and then took a turn around Corregidor Island, off towards El Fraile, and then came back to Cavité Point. As we were cruising slowly past the western end of Corregidor the Admiral stood up from his chair and, looking slowly around over the scene, gave his hand a long sweep and said :

“I often think that this would be the best place to fight Camara. He would not naturally expect that I would engage him here, because it is not a place that would usually be selected for a naval battle, but with his strength of battle-ships and armored cruisers it would afford me special advantages. For instance, I could get great help from the protection of Cor-

TORPEDOES FOR CAMARA

regidor Island. While part of my ships were in action, others could be ready in reserve behind the island, or, in case of any being slightly disabled, they could seek its protection until ready to go on again.

“Then, if necessary, I could equip four or five of our captured steam-launches as torpedo-boats, which could run out from behind the island at a time when they were not expected. Guns, too, could possibly be placed on the island to help us out. In fact, there are a great many reasons why this would be a good place to fight the enemy, and yet I have other plans, and will wait until I know something more decisive about his movements before I decide.”

This led to a discussion of torpedo-boats, in which he said that the young officers on his ship, like Caldwell and Scott, were ambitious for an opportunity to distinguish themselves, and if there was another battle, he would give them and others on the various ships an opportunity to captain these extemporized torpedo-craft and win glory and fame to their heart's content. Sometimes on the *Olympia*, when he was in a joking mood, he would say to Caldwell in the presence of others :

“You don't know what is before you, young man. One of these days you will have to command a torpedo-boat, and you may get blown

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up. You had better make the most of the present, and be prepared for what may come."

As we were returning that day to the anchorage, all of us were impressed with that remarkable simplicity of manner and character of the Admiral, mingled with an element of dignity which forbade any act of familiarity on the part of those about him. Still, this impression of dignity was almost an unconscious one. Everybody talked with him in a free and easy manner, without embarrassment or uneasiness. There was a limit of remark and argument beyond which no one ventured, but the Admiral said or did nothing which exercised a restraining effect. There was an indescribable influence about him that made those in his presence feel perfectly at home and well acquainted, and yet not intimate. Everybody left him with respect, and impressed with his affability and geniality. There were times when he could freeze up so hard and tight that no one dared to trespass upon his presence or time. Such occasions were rare, and only occurred when he was very much displeased at something which had happened.

As one steams through Manila Bay when the air is clear, his eye reaches over a magnificent landscape, where the low beach gradually rises

REMINDED OF VERMONT

into long, fertile slopes, and these in turn slip away into the wooded and cultivated foot-hills. It is as fine a stretch of country as can be seen anywhere in the world. This view is away to the south, and back of it rises the great mountain in the middle of Lake Taal. Looking towards Manila and to the east can be seen the domes and spires of public buildings and churches, the mass of sailing-vessels and war-ships along the water-front or in the Pasig, the long, low, frowning walls of old Manila, and back of the city rise pretty hills, which gradually grow into high mountains, giving a pleasing and picturesque effect to the town and its surroundings.

The Admiral was never tired of looking out upon the long, rising, rolling reaches of cultivated fields to the south, backed up by lofty peaks, and upon the hills and mountains towering above and behind the city of Manila. He was a man who fully appreciated the beautiful in nature. Gazing upon this scene from the poop-deck of the *McCulloch*, he enlarged upon its attractiveness, saying that it reminded him in the sweep of the hills of parts of Vermont, and in the extent of the sloping hill-sides of sections of Massachusetts and New York. Continuing his observations, he made one remark of which I took particular note at the time :

“ Whenever I look out upon these beautiful

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stretches of tropical country, I am convinced more than ever of the wonderful riches of these islands. What more beautiful panorama could be spread before one's eyes as showing variety of landscape than that which we can see from this ship. Everybody who has been in the interior tells me that even what we see around Manila is not equal to the other greater portions of Luzon and the lesser islands. In my opinion, the people in America and European countries have no appreciation of the value and resources of these islands. What a future there is before them with the application of American industry!"

As the Admiral was going down the ladder of the *McCulloch* to get into his barge to return to the *Olympia*, he turned to McCutcheon, Harden, and Egan, and said :

"Gentlemen, I thank you very much for the pleasure of a trip on the press-boat, and I hope you have enjoyed it as much as I have."

This joking allusion will be understood by everybody who was at Manila during the first two months of the Admiral's presence there. It was necessary for the newspaper correspondents to be quartered somewhere. Stickney was on the *Baltimore*, I was on different ships, mostly the *Zafiro* and the *Nanshan*, while McCutcheon, Harden, and Egan were aboard

THE NEWSPAPER MEN AGAIN

the *McCulloch*. As the latter had a majority of the correspondents and was a point of rendezvous for all, it was often spoken of as the press-boat. When more newspaper men arrived with the coming of the transports, about the 1st of July, some took up their headquarters on shore. Among these were Davis, of the *New York Sun*; White, of the *New York Journal* and *San Francisco Examiner*; Sheridan, of the *New York Herald* and *San Francisco Call*; Jones, of the Associated Press; and Bass and Millet, of HARPER'S WEEKLY; McDonnell, of the *Hong-Kong Press*—a class of newspaper men that were a credit to their profession. White, Sheridan, and Jones, who came over on the *Charleston*, however, made that their headquarters for a considerable period, because of the hospitalities shown them and the poor quality of "shore grub."

These are only passing references to the corps of newspaper men who were at Manila, and who, in a way, had so much to do with the home development of the situation. They are spoken of more at length in that part of this sketch where I describe the Admiral's relations with them. Every correspondent who was at Manila and had anything to do with the navy from Admiral down through the list of officers and men, will always remember these associations with pleasure, satisfaction, and grati-

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tude. Politeness and whole-souled hospitality characterized every ship, and there was not a newspaper man who did not love the navy and everybody in it. I am confident that all the correspondents will confirm what I say in this regard.

Before closing this reference to the possible coming of Camara, I would add that I heard the Admiral speak of several different plans for fighting him if he came. He mentioned the advisability of meeting him in the open sea, of surprising him at some point between Singapore and Manila and preventing him from making a rendezvous at Ilo-Ilo or any other point in the islands to the south. The feasibility of capturing Manila and fighting the battle in Manila Bay, with the help of the *Luneta's* heavy guns, together with the necessity on the part of Camara of destroying Spanish property if he fired on Manila, was also considered. The fact is, the Admiral and his captains were ready for any emergency, and if another battle had been fought, another victory would have been to the credit of the American navy.

IX

RELATIONS WITH THE ARMY, AND CAPTURE OF MANILA

THE Admiral's forbearance under most trying circumstances aroused the respect of all who witnessed his self-control where any man would have been forgiven for losing his temper. I would not imply that the Admiral did not ever give way to the impulses of righteous wrath. He yielded at times, as he himself often acknowledged, and as those with and under him were now and then keenly aware. He had the quality of "getting mad," but the same temperament which fostered such a spirit made him in the supreme hour of battle a most dangerous and powerful enemy. On the other hand, if he ever was actuated by anger he never allowed his expression of it to interfere in any way with the individual discipline of the squadron or with its general interests in connection with other forces, either our army or those of foreign navies at Manila. There is no denying the fact that he employed

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on certain occasions vigorous language in referring to the tactics of those whose methods were irritating, but at the moment when firmness of purpose had to accomplish its chief end and nothing must interfere with successful achievement his calmness and forbearance were extraordinary. These qualities were manifested at the critical hour without weakening his strength as a great commander or lessening the respect of those who tried his patience the most.

At this point I must relate a historical fact which may have been told but which I have not seen before in print. It is conclusive illustration of the unselfishness and self-restraint of the Admiral which those who witnessed what I describe will never forget. Before the fall of Manila on August 13, 1898, the navy under the Admiral, and the army under General Merritt, made elaborate preparations for the capture of the city. Negotiations followed with General Jaudenes for the surrender, but a compromise was finally arranged, with the understanding that the American land and sea forces should make a mild attack on the southern defences of Manila "to satisfy Spanish honor" before the white flag was raised. Due notice was given of the proposed engagement, so that there need be no loss of life among

RELATIONS WITH ARMY

non-combatants. At the same time Admiral Dewey sent formal notice to the commanders of the British, German, French, and Japanese squadrons in the bay that he was about to attack the defences of Manila and requested them to withdraw to such distance as would leave the water in front of Manila free for the movements of his ships. They weighed anchor and obeyed his wishes.

It was agreed that in the advance on Manila the army and navy were to move together at a given signal—the army from trenches at Pasay and Malate, and the navy along the entire water-front. Everything being apparently in readiness, and the required time of waiting having passed, the Admiral ran up the signal on the *Olympia* for all ships to prepare for action. In a short time these fighting machines were in perfect shape for battle, with guns shotted, decks stripped, and battle-flags flying. Every man was keyed to the point of action. The foreign ships looked on with expectant interest, and even the Spaniards crowded the old walls of Manila to see the approach of the American vessels. Suddenly, as we all waited for the signal to start, Lieutenant Brumby came from the Admiral's cabin and ordered young Scott to run up the signal to bank fires and await further orders. Imagine the chagrin, not only of every officer and

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Jackie in the squadron, but of the Admiral, who was compelled to withdraw his order. What was the matter? All we knew was that General Merritt had been alongside a few minutes before the last order was given. It did not take long to ascertain the truth—the army was not ready.

Had this occurred only once, it might not have made a lasting impression upon us who saw it, but the feelings of the officers and men of the navy, from Admiral down, can be appreciated when it is known that the next day this remarkable experience was repeated in most of its details, and not until two days later was the army formally announced as ready. Then, after the unfortunate delays of the past few days, the Admiral in supreme patience and forbearance, ordered his ships to prepare for action, weighed anchor, and steamed over opposite the defences of Manila.

By mentioning this incident, I would have it understood that it is not my desire or purpose to reflect in the slightest degree on the army in general, or upon General Merritt and General Greene in particular. Their record as successful commanders and men of ability speaks for itself. Nor would I wish to do other than give well-deserved credit to such competent and trustworthy officers as Generals Anderson, MacArthur, and Ovenshine. The



VIEW OF THE MALATE FORT JUST AFTER THE CAPTURE AND OCCUPATION BY THE AMERICAN
TROOPS, AUGUST 13, 1898

Showing the first army flag raised over the defences of Manila. The holes in the wall were made by the shells from
the *Olympia*, *Raleigh*, *Petrel*, and *Cullum*

CREDIT TO THE ARMY

army doubtless had the best reasons in the world for being unprepared when General Merritt first thought that they would be ready, and when the Admiral had been led to suppose they would be prepared. The fact is, however, they were not, and, unfortunately, the Admiral and his men were the ones who suffered the greater annoyance in the delay. In the presence of the commanders of the foreign squadrons and of the officers of the Spanish army, looking respectively from the decks of their ships and the walls of their town, he had been forced twice to revoke his own orders and haul down his own battle-flag without a battle ! Could anything more trying to a man's spirit be imagined than this, especially when the fault was in no way his ?

While referring in this connection to the army, I wish to say that, despite many faults, arising from hasty organization and lack of facilities, they are worthy of all the praise and credit for their campaign in the Philippines which they have received, or will receive, from the American people. Both regulars and volunteers were characterized by an unbroken devotion to their serious work in hand, under most depressing and adverse conditions, that elicited the unsought commendation of all the newspaper correspondents. When everything is taken into consideration, the distance from

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home, the long, wearisome journey across the sea, the new experience of a tropical climate, the limited supply of fresh food, the short time for perfection in drill in campaigning, and associated difficulties, both the officers and the rank and file are to be congratulated and thanked by the people and the government for their persistency and patriotism. My extended opportunity of watching the army, both in camp and at the front, sincerely prompts me to give them this credit. The praises of the navy have been sung and re-sung so continuously that this word for the army may not be inappropriate. The navy deserves all the praise it receives, but the army should not be forgotten.

The question that naturally follows the consideration of this page of history, for the truth of which I can vouch from personal presence on the *Olympia* at the time, is: How did the Admiral act under such aggravating circumstances?

His behavior at this climax of vexation, which would have taxed the patience of a phalanx of Jobs, did more than any other experience since the battle of Manila, with the possible exception of his management of the Germans, to convince those who learned to know him well that he was a truly great man. It is only a

NO BLAME FOR ANY ONE

thoroughly great man that can keep himself well in hand in such temptation. He was restrained and guided by the one thought that it was for the best interests of his country to check his feelings. When in a fortunate moment I was discussing the general situation with the Admiral, not more than half an hour after he had revoked a second time his order to prepare for action, I asked him directly what was the cause of the extraordinary delay. Without the slightest sign of passion or displeasure, but with extreme composure, he replied at once :

“Because the army, after doing its best, is not quite ready, and of course we must act together.”

“Is it not,” I continued, “rather disappointing, in the sight of all these foreign vessels, to prepare for action and then take no further steps ?”

“That does not matter : we are not making war for them. If they care to watch us, they must take things as they find them.”

By this conversation it can be seen that he completely forgot himself and blamed no one. I say he forgot himself. He could not in his own mind—that would not be human—but he would not show to any one his true feelings, for fear that they might be misinterpreted or cause harm to the success of the one idea of taking

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Manila. He would not even admit that the army officers whose business it was to do such things should have at least informed him a few hours earlier that they would not be ready, and so have saved him the necessity of recalling his orders on two separate following occasions.

Although every other officer on the *Olympia*, as well as on the *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Boston*, *Concord*, *Charleston*, *Monterey*, *Petrel*, and even little *Callao*, was indignant at the delay, and so expressed himself without reserve, the Admiral never uttered one word of complaint, unless he may have given voice to his feelings in private to Captain Lamberton, Lieutenant Brumby, and Ensign Caldwell.

The diplomacy of the Admiral was plainly shown by the correspondence which he and General Merritt conducted with General Jaudenes in the negotiations for the surrender of Manila. In the original demand made upon the Spanish general, drafted by General Merritt, there was the veiled threat of bombarding or destroying the city. When the Admiral read this over, he suggested that the phrases which covered this point be cut out and the words "attack the defences of Manila" substituted. In one line, therefore, he not only showed to the Spanish officials the humane purpose of our warfare, but he proved to the

COURTEOUS TO ALL

world that he did not believe in wanton destruction of property. Shortly after he had signed this letter with General Merritt, he called the attention of a few of us to this alteration of the wording, saying:

“It is necessary for us to remember that we are making history. If we left in that letter words which implied no respect for non-combatants, women and children and property, we would be censured for it by the future historian. By using the words ‘attack the defences of the city,’ we relieve ourselves of the charge of reckless bombardment and place the responsibility upon the enemy. If he will not surrender the defences, and destruction follows to the city itself, he is to blame.”

In his relations with Consul-General Wildman at Hong-Kong and former Consul Williams at Manila, who were both prominently connected with matters of the war, he never failed to show them the consideration which their positions as Government servants warranted.

X

STAFF-OFFICERS AND CAPTAINS TRUSTED FOR VARIOUS RESPONSIBILITIES

A SUCCESSFUL commander in navy or army is one who understands getting the most and best out of his subordinates. The greater the ability of the leader to direct simply the controlling movements and leave the performance of lesser duties to others, the more he accomplishes. From the day Admiral Dewey assumed command of the Asiatic squadron, in January, 1898, until he left behind him the responsibilities of Manila in May of this year, he studied the qualities of staff-officers and captains, and intrusted to them every responsibility which they could successfully direct. Lieutenant Brumby, his flag-lieutenant, and Ensign Caldwell, his flag-secretary, were two of the busiest men in the whole American squadron. If they took any rest, it was only because they delayed some work which they would have to attend to later. Whenever he sent any of his captains cruising through the

TRUST IN HIS OFFICERS

upper end of the bay, out to Subig, down to Batangas, Ilo-Ilo, Cebu, or around the islands, he gave them almost plenipotentiary or discretionary powers to do whatever they thought best. They appreciated their responsibility, and they never failed to act upon lines which met the Admiral's approval.

For the great multitude of duties connected with the management of the fleet and the navy-yard at Cavité, he selected special officers, and told them to do the best they could, consulting with him whenever necessary. For instance, he chose three such good men as Captain Wood, Engineer Hall of the *Petrel*, and Lieutenant Hodges, who was ordered down from the *Monocacy* at Shanghai, and who had charge of the collier *Nanshan* during the battle, to take entire control of and run the navy-yard at Cavité. He came every few days to see how they were getting along, complimented them if they were doing the right thing, and corrected them if he wished things done on different lines. Lieutenant McLean, who was also brought down from the *Monocacy*, was the flag-officer who usually had charge of the *Zafiro* in her many trips to Hong-Kong. He left to him largely the responsibility of getting in and out of Hong-Kong successfully and obtaining large supplies of provisions without violating the sacred neutrality laws.

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Later on, after the occupation of Manila, he delegated Captain Glass, of the *Charleston*, to be captain of the port, a very important position, which had to do with the management of all the shipping that came in and out of the harbor and the Pasig River. Instead of dictating to him just what he should do, he invariably told him to follow his own judgment as to what was wisest. Perhaps the very best illustration of the confidence which the Admiral reposed in his subordinates is shown by the instructions he gave Lieutenant Brumby on the occasion of the surrender of Manila. After the white flag went up, General Merritt selected General Whittier as his representative, and Admiral Dewey appointed Lieutenant Brumby as his, to meet the Spanish officials and arrange for the terms of surrender. General Whittier was later reinforced by General Merritt in person, and was also assisted by General Greene. When Brumby was leaving in the launch, he turned to the Admiral and said :

“What are your instructions, sir? You have given me none as yet.”

The Admiral, who was standing at the top of the ladder, simply swung his hand through the air in a careless sort of way, and said :

“I leave that all to you. Do whatever you think is best. Talk it over with General Mer-

BRUMBY'S SPECIAL HONORS

ritt, and whatever he wants to do will be acceptable to me."

This remark of the Admiral not only shows the trust that he placed in the men under him, but his method of dealing with his distinguished army colleagues. Instead of taking advantage of his unique position as the victorious hero of Manila Bay, and the commander-in-chief of the American naval forces at Manila, to dictate any line of policy or assume the lead in negotiations, he quietly gave way to the general, and allowed him the responsibility and honor of being the principal party to the agreement for surrender. It is needless to say that Brumby performed his duty successfully. He not only participated in the negotiations, but carried ashore the largest American flag on the *Olympia*, ordered the Spanish flag hauled down a few minutes after the treaty was signed, and then hauled up and unfurled, for the first time in history, the American colors over the ancient walls of Manila.

That evening, when Brumby returned to the ship and joined the wardroom officers who were celebrating below, he was royally toasted and compelled to make several after-dinner speeches. If I remember correctly—for we were all there on that joyous occasion—Brumby for once unbent from his customary dignity

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and even became quite happy before the evening was over—in fact, nearly everybody was happy that night, and the next day the Admiral was very lenient when Brumby and Caldwell got some things twisted and had to ask a second time for orders.

It is not every day that the staff-officers of an Admiral can participate in the surrender of a powerful foe and raise the flag over new territory. It is not every day, either, that the rest of us have an opportunity to witness the closing scenes of a great conflict of this kind. So we all had some excuse for being happy on this occasion. I will not go into all the details, because I might get some of them wrong. My note-book for that night and the next day is somewhat blurred !

In the Admiral's correspondence, he left much discretion to Brumby and Caldwell. He allowed them to write most of his official and general letters. They became so familiar with the Admiral's ways of thinking and expressing himself that they seemed invariably to catch his idea. In the great mass of correspondence which pressed upon him, he was fortunate in having men of this quality. I remember hearing him say to Caldwell : " Young man, you are getting good training now for the days when you will be Admiral and have to fight



**THIS VIEW WAS TAKEN SHORTLY AFTER LIEUTENANT BUTMIR, OF ADMIRAL DEWEY'S STAFF,
RAISED AN IMMENSE AMERICAN FLAG BROUGHT SPECIALLY FROM THE *OLYMPIA* ON
AUGUST 13, 1898**

The arms are those surrendered the same day by the Spanish soldiers



CAPTAIN LAMBERTON

battles. If you write letters then as well as you do now, you will not make many mistakes," and then the Admiral would turn to those who were standing near and say something complimentary about his flag-secretary. He rarely, if ever, indulged in any effusive praise or extra terms of credit, but he appreciated good work. Where an Admiral is on a ship, the captain is naturally a secondary influence, but it takes a very good captain, a man with tact and judgment, to get along with an Admiral aboard. Gridley, the first commander, was a man whom everybody liked. He left for America—which he never reached—just about the time I arrived at Manila, so I did not have the honor of a personal acquaintance with him.

Captain Lamberton, who succeeded him, is one of the most genial men in the navy, and he understood thoroughly the art of living agreeably on the same ship and in open adjoining cabins with the Admiral. Lamberton could be called, in some respects, a rare man. It would have been difficult for the Admiral to have selected a captain better suited for intimate association with him. He was able to be of great assistance to the Admiral in many ways, and he performed those duties in addition to the executive management of the ship with the characteristic skill of a well-trained naval officer.

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It is to the credit, moreover, of Captain Lamberton, that he always showed great consideration for the newspaper men, and did what he could to facilitate their work, and make them comfortable if they ever had to stay on board ship any length of time. More than once he helped them out in getting their despatches off by sending them in a special launch to the mail-steamer. Lieutenant Rees, the executive officer, Navigator Calkins, and Chief Engineer Entwistle were the same stamp of men, and there were Paymaster Smith, commonly known as the "Colonel," Lieutenants Nelson, Stokely Morgan, Upham, Strite, Taylor, Drs. Price and Page, Long, Assistant Engineer Kemmerling, Scott, Butler, Dunn, Rightmire, and other gay young spirits in the steerage whom we all loved. It would be difficult in going among the officers of any navy to find a finer lot of men than surrounded the Admiral on the *Olympia*. I might speak also of those on the other ships. All of us who were there as guests of the navy will never forget their unlimited kindnesses and hospitality.

A man who took hold of some difficult work and carried it through successfully invariably received credit from the Admiral. There might be no particular words of praise, but the officer could always tell if the Admiral was pleased.

TAPPAN AND THE *CALLAO*

If he was disappointed, there would be no doubt of it; his language would in such cases demonstrate his displeasure beyond question. When the Spanish gunboat *Callao* was overhauled and prepared for use under the American flag, he selected Lieutenant Ben Tappan of the *Raleigh* to command her. There was not a better man in all the squadron for this work than Ben Tappan, and the Admiral knew it. The way Tappan cared for the *Callao*, fixed her up in prime condition, and executed the Admiral's orders delighted him. Tappan would run right in under the Spanish batteries at Manila in the most saucy way whenever he was sent from Cavité on a reconnoissance up the bay. On the day Manila was captured she did magnificent work, getting so close in-shore that she could rake the Spanish intrenchments. In the midst of this attack the Admiral was afraid that Tappan would keep at it too long and not stop when "Spanish honor was satisfied," so he signalled the *Callao* to cease firing and return alongside the *Olympia*. But Tappan was too occupied working all the guns of his little ship to see any signal. I heard the Admiral say to Brumby:

"Did you signal the *Callao* to cease firing and withdraw?"

"I did, sir," replied Brumby; "but he does not seem to see the signal."

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"You mean he does not want to see it!" interrupted the Admiral. "Tappan has been waiting for this chance ever since I gave him command two months ago. You know, I really believe if the *Pelayo* were here now he would fight her single-handed!"

A little later, when the fight was over and the *Callao* circled around the *Olympia*, the Admiral said to several of us standing about listening to him comment on the day's work:

"Look, there goes Tappan and his battle-ship. He is the proudest man in the navy to-day. I don't suppose he would change places with me if he could!"

When I told Tappan what the Admiral had said he was immensely pleased, but of course would not admit that he had purposely failed to see the signal. If it is remembered that the *Callao* was little more than a good-sized tugboat, and drew only six or seven feet of water, the joke of the Admiral's references to "battle-ship" can be better appreciated. It is true, however, that she did excellent work then, and later, when trouble with the insurgents began; and there was no braver and more popular skipper in the squadron than Ben Tappan. He even mingled fun with responsibility. When the Admiral signalled that vessels going into action on the 13th of Au-

TAPPAN AND THE *CALLAO*

gust should remove all inflammable or explosive material, Tappan came alongside the *Olympia* and delivered from the *Callao* one pint of kerosene-oil and a half-pint of turpentine !

Part III

**CHARACTERISTICS, HABITS, AND
MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS**

I

POINTS OF THE ADMIRAL'S CHARACTER NOTED FROM TIME TO TIME

DURING the long months in which I had the opportunity of seeing the Admiral, I made record in my note-book of points of his character that impressed me as they showed themselves from time to time. Already I have enumerated many of them. I shall now refer to a few more specifically, even at the risk of repeating what I have elsewhere written or suggested.

The Admiral was always ready to shoulder the responsibility of an act where he was the directing spirit. He fully realized that he would be held personally responsible for any mistake, not only by the government at Washington, but by the people of the United States. He was therefore always looking into the future and considering what was the wisest course to pursue in every emergency that might arise. Probably no other man in his squadron gave as much attention to the thousand and one contingencies that might suddenly arise.

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He is a man of greater breadth and depth than he is usually given credit for being. The stranger or new acquaintance might not at first consider him broad and deep, but those who had a chance to note close at hand his methods of reasoning, and hear him express views on matters that required thought, saw that there was a breadth and depth in his character which were the result of long years of training.

Dewey is not only a fighter in the actual meaning of that word, but he is cautious in a way that characterizes the most successful fighters. In other words, he is not rash. He may strike with tremendous force and quickness, but he does it because he sees the weakness of his enemy. At Manila, after the battle, he often ordered his captains to do things which, to the uninitiated, seemed bold and reckless, such as ordering them in under the batteries of the Spaniards, or having them anchor their ships where one shot from the enemy could blow them out of the water. He knew, however, that that shot would never be fired.

There is no denying that the Admiral has a temper. We who were at Manila saw it flash up like the striking of flint and steel at times, but it seemed to show in him that keen edge which gave a zest to his determination and made him all the more dangerous an enemy.

CONSCIOUS OF POWER

This temper depended to a considerable extent on his physical condition. If he had slept well the night before and enjoyed his breakfast, he was as genial as a happy child that knows no worry. If he had had a sleepless night and his breakfast or luncheon did not agree with him, it might be unfortunate for an officer to meet him if he had made any mistake in carrying out the Admiral's orders. Still, this tendency was not manifested with sufficient frequency to be called a prevailing characteristic, for in the face of a long period of indisposition his temper seemed to be undisturbed and he was polite and genial to all. Perhaps he was like most men in occasionally expressing himself with severity when he was not feeling in the best form.

The newspaper men were always on the lookout to discover in him evidences of self-esteem or personal assumption of dignity, resulting from his great achievements. They discovered only that degree which could be called self-consciousness of real power. It could be seen that he knew that he was strong and was aware of his capabilities of fighting a good naval battle and managing affairs under his jurisdiction in Manila Bay, but evidences of this appeared only in indirect ways which commended themselves to his critics. Sometimes in a discussion of what was best, he would come out flat-footed and say:

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

“You may think that you are all right, and that your opinion is correct, but I know that you are wrong. There is no question of it, and I am right in the matter.”

Events later generally proved that he knew what he was talking about. His judgment was not absolutely unerring, but he averaged hitting the mark with extraordinary accuracy.

The Admiral's kindness of heart and his willingness to grant favors, when he understood the motive and reason, left a lasting impression on those who for good reasons sought his assistance. A notable experience of my own in that respect will confirm this attitude. So many men were endeavoring to get passage down to Manila on the despatch-boats that he gave out the strictest orders that no one, without especial order from Washington, should be allowed for a certain time to travel on them. Several men went to him and begged for exceptions to this rule, simply as favors on his part. He would not grant their requests. It suddenly developed that I was unable to attend to all the work that was on my shoulders. Things were lively on shore in the insurgent campaign against the Spaniards, and I needed somebody to assist me. It was imperative that I should get a good man, but none could be obtained except in Hong-Kong. I went to the

KIND TO THE ARMY

Admiral, told him plainly the situation, said that I did not wish to have him break his rule without good reason, but thought this was an extraordinary instance where he could possibly do it. Without a moment's hesitation, as soon as he saw the force of my request, he said :

"Very well, I see the press of the emergency," and turning to Lieutenant Brumby, he continued: "Brumby, you can tell McLean that he can bring down from Hong-Kong the man that Barrett will tell him about."

Many of the officers in the army also had occasion to appreciate his kindness and consideration. It was necessary for him to refuse the majority of their requests, because they were asking for favors which would have taken all his steam-launches and a good part of his officers to have granted, and have left the work of the navy unperformed; but whenever it was possible he acceded to their requests.

Speaking of the army prompts me to say that, while the Admiral appreciated the difficulties and obstacles in its way, and the defects in organization which came from the shortness of time in which it was brought together and its new experiences in distant lands, he invariably was charitable in his judgment, and in any discussion about the army he would take its part. He was pleased at the magnificent perfection in discipline and organization

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

of his naval squadron, and did not hesitate to speak of it, but he did not condemn the army in consequence.

It was a pleasure to watch him in the hours of trial or grave responsibility. He was so calm and yet so alert that he kept track of everything and missed nothing. On the day that we captured Manila, when, by the Admiral's invitation, I had the honor of being on the *Olympia*, an excellent opportunity was given me to note his behavior at critical moments. The *Olympia* fired as many shots that day as she did on May 1st, so that, to all intents and purposes, it was a true battle-scene. The Admiral watched the course of every shot that was aimed to get the distance, and noticed with greatest care whether it fell short or went too far; he directed the fire of the batteries of his ship, and at the same time kept a close watch on the land-forces going up from the south. He would give orders and make remarks about the situation on shore almost in the same moment, and seemed to keep perfect track of both the land and sea attack. And yet he was the most composed man on the ship. He walked up and down the bridge as if he were smoking an after-dinner cigar, and though grave responsibilities rested on him not to fire too long or too near our advancing forces or



COMMODORE GEORGE DEWEY

As the head of a bureau in the Navy Department at Washington

A NARROW ESCAPE

upon certain defences of the city, he timed and managed the whole affair to the nicety of holiday manœuvres.

When some bad coffee, on the morning of the battle of May 1st, made him quite sick at the stomach, he acted in the same way that he would have done in his own apartments in Washington, except possibly he excused the cook in this instance. He was not excited or troubled because he was sick, but regretted his hard luck at feeling ill when so much good fun was going on.

The readiness, coolness, and courage with which the Admiral and his officers took care of the German launch (already described) and would have sunk it with another shot if it had not stopped, were emphasized by another incident that followed some weeks later and gave everybody on the *Olympia* a nervous shock at least from the danger avoided. The chance of being blown up by a torpedo-boat is not so dangerous, possibly, in its effect upon the witness of what occurs, as that of being rammed by a steamer that is big enough to sink the one it is attacking. The Filipinos had obtained possession of a 600-ton merchant-vessel, which was almost a sister-boat of the captured *Manila*. On one occasion they loaded it at Cavité with a large body of soldiers and started, as it

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seemed, for another section of the bay above Manila.

It was necessary for Filipino ships, like those of foreign navies or merchant fleets, in going or coming, to stop in the neighborhood of the *Olympia* and give notice of their movements. This was required by the Admiral. The Filipino transport headed towards the *Olympia*. When she came near, instead of swinging around to one side, she approached apparently dead on at full steam.

It looked like an impending collision and as if planned by the Filipinos. In less time than is requires to describe it, everybody on the *Olympia*, from Admiral down, was preparing for a most unexpected danger. The bugles were sounded and the orders given for the guns to be manned, shotted, and trained on the approaching Filipino boat. In a moment every gun of the *Olympia's* five-inch broadside, including her eight-inch turret-rifles, were trained on the Filipino, ready to blow her out of the water and into a billion pieces, if the signal or order were once given. In the very nick of time the Filipino ship swung around, almost grazing the *Olympia*, and avoided ramming her—and her own destruction by the *Olympia's* guns.

Shortly afterwards a Filipino officer came aboard. When he saw the men standing at

FILIPINO RASHNESS

the guns and the signs of readiness for a fight, a look of astonishment came over his face, and he staggered and almost fell from fear. He forgot even to salute the officer at the gangway, and when escorted back to the Admiral, acted as if he were being taken as a criminal before a judge. Presented to the Admiral, he was so frightened that with difficulty he mumbled out a profound apology for bad steering of his boat, said that he had come to get permission to leave Cavité, and hoped that the Americans meant him no harm. The Admiral, with mingled anger at the carelessness displayed and amusement at the man's terror, almost laughed as he not only gave him the permission but told him that the Filipinos had come within an ace of being blown out of the water, and that if they or any of their fellow-officers ever repeated the incident, he would not again wait for them to get so near, but would fire every gun of the *Olympia's* broadside into them.

The Admiral remarked afterwards that this was one of the closest calls he had ever had, in the momentary effect on his nerves, since the incident of the *Mississippi* in the Civil War. He was particularly pleased, however, at the extraordinary celerity with which his officers and men prepared themselves for this emergency, and said he had never seen anything done better or more quickly. It proved to

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him the excellence of the training which his crew had received, and their ability to cope with any emergency. Lieutenant Stokely Morgan, who was on duty at the time, said that he was impressed not only with the men getting ready so expeditiously, but with the composure of the Admiral at a moment when excitement would have been excusable. Captain Lamberton also observed that the Admiral did not show the slightest sign of fear, but at the same time was very angry. Had it not been for the almost clownish cowardice of the Filipino officer when he staggered and trembled in the presence of the Admiral, it is probable that the latter might have used some very strong words in expressing his opinion of Filipino rashness. Afterwards, in talking to some of us about it, he did not mince words, any more than he sometimes did in the presence of his intimate friends of the Metropolitan Club, or in other favored circles, when some unexpected incident roused his feelings.

In discussing the Admiral's predominant characteristics, particular mention should be made of his promptness. I never met a man who was always on time for everything with so little effort. In big and little things it was just the same. His staff-officers were kept busy planning to have all his orders executed

THE ADMIRAL'S PROMPTNESS

in the very minute he directed. When he sailed past Corregidor, when he arrived off Manila, and when he opened fire on the Spanish fleet, he was doing each thing at the exact hour planned in Hong-Kong. Later, when it was time to proceed against the defences of Manila, he was in absolute readiness with ships stripped for action several days before the land-forces were prepared to advance with him ; and finally when he did open fire with the *Olympia*, the first shot was discharged within one minute of the time of day he had originally ordered. What is more, the Spaniards showed the white flag within ten minutes of the time he predicted when he started into action. Speaking of this accuracy of judgment in a conversation with McCutchen and myself while we were waiting for Brumby to return from the negotiations for surrender, the Admiral remarked :

“ I knew that we could do just a certain amount of firing and destruction within a certain period. By that time ‘Spanish honor’ should be satisfied, and the expected white flag, as arranged by Monsieur Andre, our friend, and the Belgian consul, should be shown.”

There was really a little delay in discovering the white flag because of the background of a white-painted, corrugated-iron roof behind the old wall on which it was raised ; but it was

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afterwards proved to have been put up almost upon the minute that the Admiral expected it. Possibly Andre had told the Spaniards of Dewey's ideas on promptness.

II

QUIET VISITS TO MANILA, ONE OF WHICH NEARLY RESULTED DISASTROUSLY

THE Admiral's desire to avoid unnecessary pomp and display was shown in his repeated visits to Manila. Once or twice a week he would come on shore for a drive, or to make some calls. Now and then he dropped in on General Otis or some other army officer, and occasionally lunched at the homes of different British merchants, who were always glad to entertain him. When he landed from his launch opposite the Custom-house or office of captain of the port, there were never any guards, or "side boys," to salute him, because he did not want any and would not have them. Usually he was accompanied by Brumby, Caldwell, or Scott. They would get into an ordinary two-horse vehicle, hired off-hand at the moment, and then drive either for pleasure or for calling. There were no extra attendants or liveried coachmen to draw attention to the conveyance. As he rode along the

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streets, he returned the salutes of officers, private soldiers, Filipinos, and coolies who happened to recognize him, with the same uniform politeness and characteristic smile on his face.

This attention to all had no appearance of patronizing. It was sincere, not superficial. Every man to whom he bowed believed that the Admiral's nod was a mark of special recognition, and went on his way pleased at such attention from the distinguished hero. Were the Admiral a candidate for the people's suffrage and not a non-political naval man, he would be a most successful winner of votes. Every one to whom he spoke would be influenced to cast his ballot for the man who had such a kind and pleasing way. He had a characteristic habit of bending his head forward a trifle, opening his eyes wide, and gently smiling whenever he bowed or spoke to a person, which seemed to indicate a particular interest and always left its impression upon those to whom he was speaking. One of Colonel Stotsenburg's privates, of the Nebraska regiment, who was doing duty at the Custom-house, came rushing up to me one day just after the Admiral had passed, and said, with great eagerness:

"Say, I wish you would do me a favor. Next time you see Admiral Dewey, please tell him my name and ask him if he ever knew or

PATIENT AND SIMPLE

saw me before. Why, when he landed here a few minutes ago, he returned my salute as if he had known me for years, stopped and talked to me, and acted really as if we were old friends. I'd like to have him know my name anyway. He's a wonder, that man."

This little episode, which I remember very plainly because of the man's earnestness, was one of many which showed alike the Admiral's simplicity and impressiveness of manner.

If at any time when he was going along the streets of Manila or across the big stone bridge there was a blockade, as often happened in the busy hours of the day, he would never lose patience or show signs of special haste. Sometimes he would even caution the soldiers who were trying to open a passage for him not to be so zealous, as they had a tendency to jostle unoffending persons and carriages out of the way. One day after he had come down out of the Ayuntamiento, where he had been calling on Governor-General Otis, a sergeant of Captain Case's Oregon company stopped me and said :

"That man is the simplest great man that I ever saw. There isn't a second lieutenant in this whole army that passes by my guard who doesn't act as if he were more particular about the salute than the Admiral. He has such a quiet, easy way that he almost always

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gets part way through the entrance before we actually appreciate that he is the Admiral. Then we straighten up for all we are worth. He gives us a cheerful little bow and salute, as if to say : 'This is really very kind of you, gentlemen. Thank you,' and passes on. He never seems to act as if he expected special honors to be shown him. That's what I like in a great man."

Remarks and incidents of this kind so impressed me in my study of the Admiral, that I made note of them, and now draw on my records for these bits of side action that help shed additional light on the Admiral's character.

Whenever he accepted an invitation to lunch at the home of any prominent English resident, he put everybody at ease by the evident intention on his part to enjoy the occasion without any formality. There was never the slightest indication of what is termed "side" in his manner, and strangers who were invited to meet him were surprised to find how quickly they were talking to him like an old acquaintance. His favorite place for tiffin, as luncheon is called throughout the tropics, was at the home of Mr. H. D. C. Jones, manager of the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. Mr. Jones was fortunate in having a charming wife, who was the daughter of a prominent English resident and a native wom-

ON THE FIRING-LINE

an of the highest class. She was an agreeable hostess, pretty, vivacious, and understood art of providing a good table. She made Admiral feel at home, and gave him an opportunity to enjoy a change of diet on shore, to meet other people whose attentions to were entirely unselfish and social. Among guests that often gathered around that table was Mrs. Jones's sister, who was noted throughout the Far East for her beauty and attractiveness. It is of her that the story is told that, when she heard of the Admiral's wish that he could get some good fresh milk, she sent him every day a bottle from her father's herd of Jerseys.

Few people in America realize how nearly they came to having no Admiral Dewey whom they could welcome home, on account of a little incident that occurred out on the firing-line at San Pedro Macati last February. The Admiral himself did not appreciate it until it was all over. Otherwise he would not have been so rash in exposing himself. Moreover, he had ladies in his charge. One can imagine the sensation which would have been created, and the story that would have flown from one hemisphere to the other if two or three Englishwomen, the guests of the Admiral on a little picnic-party, had been shot by Filipinos while under his special charge.

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Soon after General King arrived at Manila, he called, in his usual punctilious way, upon the Admiral. The latter wished to return this attention as soon as possible. The following Sunday he went to luncheon with Mr. Jones, the banker, whose house is well up the Pasig River beyond Malacan, and is a beautiful spot just on the outskirts of the city. As usual, the Admiral was conveyed there in his steam-launch. During the course of tiffin, he suggested to his host and hostess as well as to the other guests that later they should ride up the river as far as San Pedro Macati, and call upon General King at his headquarters.

This was after the outbreak, but there had been no firing for a considerable time, and it was deemed quite safe for any one to go there. The party proceeded up the river, landed at General King's house, which is a big stone building on the river-side, overlooking not only the stream but all the surrounding country. The party were met by one of the general's aides, who showed them to a comfortable reception-room up-stairs, and informed General King of the arrival of his distinguished visitor. The general, who was always very particular about his personal appearance, took a considerable time to properly clothe himself.

Suddenly, without any warning, there came a sound of a rifle volley, and of bullets going



**BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ONE SECTION OF MANILA, TAKEN ABOUT MARCH 30, 1899, AFTER
THE INSURGENT OUTBREAK**

It gives some idea of the extent of the city, and the size of the average buildings



A NARROW ESCAPE

through the zinc roofing over the heads of the Admiral and his fellow-callers. Hardly had this ended when there came the crash of another volley, which struck the stonework about the building. The surprise of the Admiral and his friends can be easily conceived, but his composure kept the ladies from screaming and the men from running. He immediately recognized the danger and folly of remaining, but believing that the firing was chance shots, and that they could leave by the way they came, conducted the party back to the launch. In the meantime General King appeared, apologized for his delay, and did the most he could in his hospitable and generous manner to make his guests feel at ease, telling them that the shots were probably haphazard ones, and were the first that had been fired for several days.

The party, however, did not delay departure, and, getting into the launch, started back down the river. As they did so a number of other shots were fired, which struck the water around the launch and even spattered some of the occupants. The Admiral kept as cool as if he had been on the bridge of the *Olympia* in a naval battle, all the time assuring the ladies, both by his words and by his example, that they were perfectly safe. Viewed in any light it was a very narrow escape. Shots struck above, below, and around them, and it was good

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fortune that none did harm to the Admiral or his guests. Just outside of the house, or not more than twenty-five feet from where the Admiral was sitting, two men were badly wounded by the same firing. A big, burly sentry from the Washington regiment, who witnessed the scene, said to me :

“That Admiral has got nerve ! He handled those ladies as if he were out on a summer picnic in Vermont and not at a place where bullets were falling lively. There were a whole lot of us that forgot all about ourselves and our chances of being hit in watching the Admiral. By George ! if any of those Filipino bullets had struck the Admiral, what wouldn't have happened ! We would have all started chasing the devils until we'd killed every one of 'em, or driven 'em into the sea on the other side ; but I'd rather have one Admiral Dewey than ten million Filipinos.”

One of the ladies of the party said afterwards that she never really appreciated to what danger they had been exposed until the matter was explained to her later. She said that the Admiral maintained his composure to such a degree that they did not really think that any bullets struck anywhere near them after all ! One of General King's aides, who confirmed the incident, said that it was the most anxious twenty minutes through which

AN OFFICER'S IMPRESSION

he ever passed, and he hoped that he would never have to go through it again. The responsibility of the mere thought that Admiral Dewey might be accidentally killed by a stray Filipino bullet, way out there on the edge of the jungle, after having lived through one of the greatest naval battles of history, to be worshipped and loved by all the American people, who were longing for his return, was too much for this young officer's nerve. I do not think, under the circumstances, that any one would blame him.

III

RELIGIOUS INSTINCTS, MORAL VIEWS, AND PERSONAL HABITS

THE question has been often asked me whether the Admiral was a religious man. This is a delicate subject to handle, because there are so many different ways of looking at it. My own impression of Admiral Dewey would be that he is a man who has always been guided and strengthened by the religious principles which were taught him as a young man by his father, who was the best type of a practical Christian man. The Admiral may not be one who carries his beliefs on his sleeve, but he has those deep religious instincts and that faith in a Supreme Being which are the essential qualities in developing a true Christian character. If nobility of manhood, devotion to duty, faithfulness to the purpose in hand, unselfishness in relations with his fellow-men, giving credit to those to whom credit is due, courage in right doing and in the execution of his determination, true and natural patriotism, deep re-

A PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN

gard for the truth, generosity of heart and impulse, and love of his fellow-men are qualities that make a Christian character, then the Admiral can be classed among the ideal Christians. He had the frailties of men to a degree which made others love and respect him all the more. He was like and of them, not above them. Moreover, if one were to judge from the Admiral's comments upon the ways of the world, upon those with whom he was brought into association, and upon the shaping of the events of the world's history, the conclusion would be that he is one of those religious men who make our country strong, and guide it successfully through dangerous places, at the same time setting a noble example to generations coming on.

Viewing his religious beliefs from a technical standpoint, it can be said that he has been both baptized and confirmed in the Episcopal Church. He was christened as a boy, at Montpelier, in the church which his father had helped to found and of which he had always been a strong pillar of support. Later, when the Admiral was married to the beautiful Miss Goodwin, daughter of the old war Governor of New Hampshire, he was confirmed at the same time with her in the Episcopal Church, while on duty at Annapolis. The Admiral's wife was a type of the purest Christian character,

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and there is no doubt that she had great influence over her husband. She had that kindly sympathetic, bright nature which carried its shine into his life as long as she lived, brought him sadness in her death, of which he has always borne traces. There is just a touch in the Admiral's eyes and expression of the sorrow that broke his heart when she was taken away only a few days after the birth of the only son, George. His family connections and intimate friends have always seen present in his soul the influence of this good woman. When Admiral Dewey is a man of the world, in the best and highest meaning of the term, he is never unmindful of the behavior and attitude of a true gentleman—and a true gentleman is the best kind of a Christian.

Liars are an abomination to the Admiral. No man living hates a liar more than he. The naval officer or subordinate on any one of his ships who would lie to him, even with some good excuse, would never afterwards have his confidence. Once when he was describing the character of a certain man to a number of us he suddenly became quite excited, threw his arms about, arose quickly from his chair and strode back and forth across the deck, saying

“That man was a liar, if there ever was a liar on earth. I despised him for that reason.”

HIS OPINION OF LIARS

There is nothing that I detest so much in a man as lying. If he hasn't the courage to tell the truth, let him at least keep his mouth entirely closed. I don't believe that any man ever lost anything in the long run by telling the truth. At the same time, I don't think any man ever gained anything in the long run by telling a lie."

Then he sat down and was quiet and placid, without a sign of the storm that had just passed. He had expressed himself in no uncertain terms on this cardinal point, and then calmly changed the subject, and apparently forgot what he had just said. This little incident cast a side-light on his character which those of us who saw it remembered and often referred to afterwards in discussing the Admiral's peculiarities.

One of the first things that the Admiral said when discussing the practical side of being made a full Admiral, was that it would not only give him an ample competence on which to live during the remaining years of his life, but would enable him to leave a sum sufficient to be a substantial help to his son George, or to assist him in the event he needed the financial co-operation of his father in any enterprise or plan. He remarked that from his boyhood up he had never had any great longing for the

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possession of money as money, or any particular ambition to be a rich man, in the pre-acceptance of the term. All that he desired was sufficient to live comfortably, be able to take care of his family, return courtesies and hospitalities shown him, and not be worried with the fear of being left without sufficient to enjoy his later years. Lamberton and Brewster both told me that they thought the Admiral's chief satisfaction in getting the large salary of a full Admiral was to be able to provide for his son; and, secondly, not to be limited in the expenses that would arise in his later years. That is certainly the way that the world likes to see a great man appreciate a good income. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the Admiral has never been extravagant. He has not only lived well within his income, but he has made some good investments. His father, Doctor Dewey, was a man of means, according to the Vermont standard, and did not stint his son. Therefore, the Admiral was brought up as a boy in comparative comfort, although not in luxury.

The Admiral likes a good cigar. After he had used up the stock of Havanas which he brought with him, he tried the various kinds of Manilas until he found the one that suited him best. He is not a constant smoker, but

TEMPERATE IN HABITS

limits himself to a certain number each day. He seemed to be at his best in his social intercourse with the officers of his staff and with the newspaper men, when he was enjoying a smoke. If there were any around him not smoking, he always invited them to have a cigar with him.

The Admiral is thoroughly temperate in his habits. He does things in a moderate way, holding back from temptations and excess even under the most trying conditions. This is one reason why he was able to stand so well the responsibility and worry of the long stay at Manila without an absence to recoup in northern climates.

The Admiral had little opportunity at Manila to indulge in those amusements which appealed to him when he was in America. He is fond of riding horseback, of hunting and fishing. He often looked out upon the slopes and hills of the Philippines, and expressed the wish that conditions were such that he could relax from his responsibilities and enjoy himself in the country districts.

If music in a man's soul shows a delicacy of nature which makes up the well-rounded man, the Admiral would certainly come under that class. He is fond of good singing and

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skilful playing upon any instrument. time he himself sung, especially in his *you* years; now he contents himself with *li* ing. During the long days at Manila, v his thoughts would wander back to Ame he would express a longing to hear a , opera again.

IV

THE ADMIRAL'S UNFAILING COURTESY TOWARDS WOMEN.

WHILE the Admiral did not favor the coming of women to Manila while war with either Spaniards or insurgents was on, and even gave his officers to understand that he could not approve of their bringing their wives there, he was most gracious to any woman who happened to meet him. Now and then Englishmen would come over from Manila to Cavité to call on the Admiral, leaving the city by the way of the *Immortalité*, and, by kind assistance of Captain Chichester, brought their wives. Such occasions were made the most of by the gallant American commander. He left the husbands to the care of Captain Lamberton or Lieutenant Brumby and looked after the ladies himself. Such an impression did he make that they would return to Manila and almost convince the fair Spanish señoras and señoritas that it was really not a "pig of an American" who destroyed their husbands'

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ships. Captain Chichester, in visiting the *Olympia* after some Englishwomen had returned from one of these calls, would banter the Admiral with remarks to the effect that the *Immortalité* and himself were no longer an attraction.

"That may be true," rejoined the Admiral, "but I can't take your word for it. You have the advantage of me. You can tell who calls on me, but I have no idea how many come to see you and how many you go to see in Manila!"

This at least shows how, in the midst of grave responsibilities, these two life-long sailors could get fun out of the simplest incidents. This habit, undoubtedly, was one influence that kept the Admiral in good spirits during most depressing conditions.

Later, after the fall of Manila, when there came a great inrush of army officers' wives, it was necessary for him to set some limit on the number he could see, but those who were fortunate enough to meet him returned with reports that made their less fortunate sisters most envious.

He enjoyed the society of interesting women as well as anybody else. One day, when I asked him if I could bring aboard the *Olympia* to meet him the wives of two prominent army officers who were very anxious to write home

CHIVALROUS TO WOMEN

to their friends and relatives in America that they had called on the Admiral, and who had importuned me to assist them, he replied :

“ Why, certainly ; but, by-the-way, are they pretty and clever ? ”

“ Assuredly,” I made answer ; “ the prettiest and cleverest women in Manila.”

“ Very good ! You tell the captain of the port that I say you can have a launch to bring off two pretty women ! ”

As Captain Glass of the *Charleston* was captain of the port, and almost as good a judge as the Admiral in such matters, I had no difficulty in getting the launch. This and other similar stories do not indicate any superficiality or snobbishness whatever, but that unaffected, every-day simplicity of his character and manner which pleased all who knew him well. He was serious when necessary, but could joke with ease and without loss of natural dignity whenever conditions favored.

On another occasion I had taken Mrs. John F. Bass and her husband, the well-known correspondent of HARPER'S WEEKLY, to call on the Admiral. Mrs. Bass had the distinction of being the first American woman to come to Manila after the war broke out, and rode into the city on August 13th with the troops as courageously as if she had been on General

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Anderson's staff. While we were there Captain Chichester came aboard and joined our party aft. Presently he asked Mrs. Bass if she would not join Mr. Bass and myself and lunch with him on the *Immortalité*. Immediately the Admiral laughingly remarked :

“There you are again, captain, ahead of me wherever a lady is concerned. I was about to ask her myself !”

And how the chivalrous British commander did regale us that day with most excellent cold leg of mutton and good British bottled beer, mingled with reminiscences and stories we shall not soon forget.

I may be pardoned for mentioning names and going into so much detail of quoted conversation, but when true they often add an interest to an incident that would otherwise be lacking.

The truth of the story about the admiration which he manifested for the photograph of a young woman which rested on his dressing-case with many others was this : He received a letter from the young lady or girl in question, in which she went into a most interesting description of the impression made on her mind by his great victory, and concluded with an ingenious request for his autograph and the statement that she enclosed her photograph in

INFLUENCE OF WIFE

return for it. The Admiral was so pleased with the cleverness of her letter and with the unaffected, girlish beauty which the portrait indicated, that he not only sent her the autograph, but placed her photograph where he could see it along with the others he valued. He often showed it to callers and spoke of the letter. Having jokingly remarked that he had nearly cut himself in shaving while gazing at this beautiful face, the story was taken up, repeated, and finally copied into the papers. If I remember correctly, the subject of the photograph was an Iowa girl. Those of us who saw it did not blame the Admiral for admiring it!

To change from light, jolly phases of passing incidents to a serious consideration of the Admiral's gentleness and charm in the presence—and in the opinion—of women, it can be said that these characteristics are partially due to the lasting influence of the short but happy association with his wife, whose life came to an untimely end immediately after the birth of their only child, George Goodwin Dewey, who is now about twenty-seven years of age. The daughter of old Ichabod Goodwin, war Governor of New Hampshire, she was a woman of rare qualities and attainments, well educated, refined, sweet-tempered, happy-



ADMIRAL GEORGE D

natured, and ambitious for her successful advancement. He never re-
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V

GENERAL FEATURES OF PERSON AND MANNER

PHYSICALLY the Admiral is not an impressive man, in the sense that some of our other noted naval and military men are, but he has a poise of body and head when standing or sitting that attracts the eye of the stranger. He has dignity with absolute ease. He carries himself gracefully for a man whose legs are trained to the sea, and he is not affected in manner or movement. His step is usually light and quick, but not especially hurried. He is not tall, and is a little under the average height of naval men; but his shoulders are fairly broad, and in good condition he has the appearance of being fairly well rounded. The bones of his hands are small and his fingers long and slight. They are often employed in nervous gestures—not in the French, but the New England style—emphatic and serious, but not gymnastic. He has an interesting habit of drawing his fingers over his eyes when about to express some thought or consider a new suggestion. When a little

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

agitated or disturbed he will pull and roll the ends of his long white mustache.

As he talks he shakes his head to give emphasis to what he is saying. If he is specially interested his eyes move quickly about, watching your own expression and possibly those of others, looking bright and cheerful one moment and hard and severe the next, according to your answers or comment. Still his eyes are not shifting in a weak sense. He has a firm, earnest, controlling look in them when he has orders to give or hears reports on important matters.

He could not be called exactly handsome, because he is not sufficiently tall; but he has a prepossessing, clear-cut, interesting, almost classical face that seems equal to the responsibility of giving expression to the thoughts that have birth in his active brain. He is much better looking than the average photograph or sketch. None of his pictures bring out the best that is in his face, nor the strong lines which one notices in his actual presence. The ordinary portrait that is seen all over the land gives no conception of the real force and strength that he possesses, and is therefore disappointing to the man who has been accustomed to seeing him in person. His hair is a frosty gray, amounting almost to whiteness, which becomes his composed but earnest visage. The nose

ALWAYS CLEAN AND NEAT

is large, but it indicates his force of character and does not mar the general effect of his physiognomy. There are resolution and persistency in the lines of his mouth and chin, and when his lips are moving in stating an order or giving an opinion where he has made up his mind, there is no difficulty in determining whether he is in earnest. His complexion, naturally ruddy, has been sallow the latter part of the time at Manila, for that condition is superinduced by the climate, but after his long voyage home it is quite probable that he will regain considerable color.

He always looks clean and neat, but is not over particular, and gracefully accepts the conditions of war and sailor life, even if they do not give him all the privileges, comforts, and pleasures of the club. His wonderful adaptability has made him as much at home in the stripped cabin of the *Olympia* as he would have been in one of the New York or Washington hotels or clubs. In fact, he gave no signs on the flag-ship of desiring luxurious surroundings, and the simplicity of furniture, dating back to the days of fighting, compared with his simplicity of dress and manner, seemed to present a harmonious situation in line with his habits and wishes. There was no "fuss and feathers" about him or his environment at Manila.

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

Admiral Dewey is a remarkable illustration of the adaptability of men of our race to the conditions and circumstances that unexpectedly surround and meet them. He shows the ability of our leaders to cope successfully with new and broad responsibilities. But with this natural tendency of his American blood and training, and the inspiration which he received from birth and early childhood in Vermont, there were certain indispensable latent qualities, such as consummate leadership, executive capacity, indomitable courage, strength of conviction, common sense, which were not only brought out by the battle of Manila, but by the cares that preceded and followed that engagement. He had long before shown to his large circle of friends in naval, political, and business circles qualities of diplomacy, urbanity, discrimination, and self-possession which, put to their full test in the Manila campaign, proved equal to the emergency.

In meeting Admiral Dewey the stranger would not from first impressions consider him a great man in the true meaning of the term, but he would go away prepossessed invariably in his favor. I never knew a naval or military officer, a newspaper correspondent, traveller, or business man who did not leave his presence, after being introduced for the first time, charmed with his personality, his affability,

RESPECTED BY FILIPINOS

his *savoir-faire*, and his unaffected bearing. They say first impressions are lasting, but experience teaches me that in the case of the Admiral final impressions confirm the first. Added to them, however, are the full knowledge and appreciation of the fact that he is really a great man in the wide meaning of the term, judged from his successful grappling with a thousand different responsibilities between March, 1898, when he first came to Hong-Kong, and May, 1899, when he sailed away from Manila. His former friends knowing him before his mighty opportunity came, and those persons who have only met him for the moment in passing, may not have remembered him as a great man, but those who saw him month in and month out for nearly a year, and watched him deal with every problem in a masterly spirit of decision, are unanimous in according him the rank of a great man as well as of a distinguished naval hero.

There was no American name that carried so much weight in Filipino councils as that of Admiral Dewey, and I wish to add that I honestly believe that if plenipotentiary powers and orders had been given Admiral Dewey after the fall of Manila, such as England gave Kitchener in the Upper Nile basin, he would have successfully solved the problem of our relations

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

with the natives and prevented many of those conditions which have helped on the present warfare — unless the development of anti-responsibility sentiment and the failure to ratify the treaty until after prolonged delay would have proved disastrous even to his masterful control of the situation.

The profound patience with which he awaited the arrival of troops two months after the battle of Manila Bay was only surpassed by the greater patience with which he looked for the arrival of reinforcements in the form of the *Monterey* and *Monadnock*. The former did not put in an appearance until three months after the battle, and the latter four months.

One of the best proofs of his courage and devotion to duty is the fact that he was never absent from Manila Bay for more than part of a day, and then only to run out to Subig, during the entire length of his stay of over a year. To make this self-abnegation the more prominent, it will be recalled that every other officer and man in his squadron, including his own staff-officers, had made trips to Hong-Kong by which they were much benefited and refreshed. When the *Olympia* went to Hong-Kong he transferred his flag to another ship and remained.

He planned for all contingencies. He never

SOME GOOD QUALITIES

was taken by surprise, and he never intended to be. When it was understood that Camara was coming to the Philippines he was not in the least disturbed, but said he was ready, and would do to him what he had to Montojo.

He provided against all probability of torpedo attack from the Spaniards at Manila by unremitting night surveillance until they gave up all hope of doing his ships harm. He guarded so carefully the health of his men that in the hottest season the per cent. of sick was incredibly small. He made frequent visits to different ships of his command and to the navy-yard at Cavité, taking special pleasure in the latter as his own special prize and pet.

In summarizing other characteristics and qualities, I might mention his never-failing consideration of others—especially of his army colleagues, first General Merritt and later General Otis; his avoidance of act or word that suggested the importance of his own unique position; his never-failing politeness towards all who called upon him; his love for his native town of Montpelier and State of Vermont; his finesse of manner and speech, and man-of-the-world nature mingled with a directness and force of speech and rugged sailor spirit which showed themselves as conditions demanded; and, finally, his every-day matter-of-



ADMIRAL GEORG

fact method of living, act which kept him far from being a perfect man and made him seem like scores of other average men in their way, their foibles, petty vices, as well as their virtues.

There is no better term than though it be homely, to express quality in the make-up of a man. I knew that the use of common sense was the greatest influence factor. I never failed to employ the quality which he possessed. If the acquaintances of the Admiral asked him through long years were to be called a brilliant man, they would probably reply that they would term him as being truly descriptive of common-sense. After a while what a man needs more to be a success is common-sense. I think the officers of his squadron would call him a good horse-sense kind of a man whom, after a while, they would call him either once or many times out as a perfect example of a man by this most essential quality.

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MARKED INFLUENCE OF LOCAL ENVIRONMENT ON DEWEY'S BOYHOOD

MONTPELIER is an ideal town for the birth-place of a great man. That impression is made upon all who visit it, and, indeed, it has become a Mecca of travellers since the Admiral became famous. It is clean, wholesome, prosperous, and attractive. Its residents are thrifty, well educated, and often well-to-do, in the Vermont sense. As the capital of a commonwealth which has produced such a large proportion of successful men, in all States to which they have emigrated as well as within its own borders, it is in no sense disappointing. In short, it is the class of town or city which we would select as the youthful home of Admiral Dewey. There is no degree of disappointment when one realizes that he is walking up and down the same streets on which George Dewey played as a boy. It can be seen that the influences of locality which were brought to bear on him in his early days were conducive to

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

future greatness, for which he even began to prepare as a child and school-boy.

As the stranger, in quest of the town in which Dewey was born, travels up through Vermont, he is occupied with speculative thoughts as to what nature of a place it is. If he has been there before, he is glad to go again; if not, he is agreeably disappointed. The railroad takes him into the very heart of the town and crosses the famous Onion—now called Winooski—River, just behind the former location of the house in which the Admiral was born. Coming out of the station, the first thing that impresses the eye is the handsome, solid business structure which holds the great financial institution, the National Life Insurance Company, which the Admiral's father, Dr. Julius Y. Dewey, not only founded but nurtured into a prosperous condition through much adversity, showing that the Admiral's family is good at finance and business as well as at naval tactics and war.

Across the wide, beautiful street on which Dewey was born in a house a few doors to the south of the structure just mentioned, there stands proudly at the foot of a hill which could almost be called a mountain the State Capitol. Set off against the towering green of the hill and fronted with terraced steps and a wide

THE STATE-HOUSE, MONTPELIER, VERMONT

The house in which Dewey was born stands opposite the State-House. The statue in the portico is of Ethan Allen, and a statue of Dewey is to face it



ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

one day from college to find a heroic statue of Ethan Allen erected behind the tall columns of the portico, and seemingly standing guard at the entrance to the mysterious and sacred halls of legislation, he wondered if he would ever be such a great man that a statue like that would be erected in his memory.

The more one reflects on the remarkable location of the Dewey homestead, directly opposite, even by surveyor's measurement, the State Capitol, and the influence that its strong, massive, immovable presence, as the highest typified form in brick and stone of the strength and power of State and government, must have had on youthful Dewey, the more is he convinced that the Admiral was born in the ideal place and in the ideal surroundings not only for Vermont's most distinguished son, but for the country's idol. He must have been impressed, encouraged, and inspired by such influences, and what he often said at Manila in a reflective mood proves beyond question that it made a lasting impression on his life and joined with other surroundings of place and family to strengthen him in his ambitions.

Not only the Capitol, but the rolling hills covered with pasture-land and forest, the meadows in the valleys, the clear, limpid water of the rivers, the fishing, hunting, swimming,

ENERGY AND ENDURANCE

and picnicking, the coasting, snowballing, and making maple-sugar, the bracing cold of the winter and the genial warmth of the summer, all conduced to developing in George Dewey qualities of body and mind that would prepare him in a measure for the trials of the future. They gave him energy and physical endurance, while they favored decision of character and mental determination. They prepared him well to be an "all-round" man.



ADMIRAL GEORGE

one day from college to find Ethan Allen erected behind of the portico, and seeming at the entrance to the mystic halls of legislation, he would ever be such a great man that would be erected in his

The more one reflects on the location of the Dewey homestead site, even by surveyor's measure of the Capitol, and the influence the massive, immovable presence, as a fixed form in brick and stone and power of State and government had on youthful Dewey, they are convinced that the Admiral was in that place and in the ideal surroundings for Vermont's most distinguished citizen, the country's idol. He was nurtured, pressed, encouraged, and influenced, and what he often felt in a reflective mood proves beyond doubt that it made a lasting impression. It was joined with other surroundings of his family to strengthen him in life.

Not only the Capitol, but the surrounding covered with pasture-land and woods in the valleys, the clear air, the rivers, the fishing, hunting

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ADMIRAL DEWEY'S FATHER YEMANS DEWEY, A MAN OF

BUT more than the town and the Capitol, were the home and the influence of his father, Yemans Dewey. Here we find the Admiral. The more wonderful father of the nation are we impressed with his son, the more readily do we understand the Admiral gets his predominant characteristics.

Dr. Julius Yemans Dewey, the father of his son. He was a man of great ability. He may not have won national fame, but his fellow-citizens appreciated him.

Dr. Dewey was an exceptional man, a rare development of the human stock. His life and record, when studied, reveal a character of great strength and ability that are worthy of profound admiration. It would be a disappointment to the nation if it would be a disappointment to the nation.

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

ous opposition. Suddenly Dr. Dewey appears on the scene. He sees something radically wrong, in his opinion, with the question, and goes to the town-meeting determined to defeat it. He gets up, in the face of its unanimous support, and argues against it. He says it should not pass, it cannot pass, and it shall not pass! He speaks with so much vehemence, moral courage and conviction, that he carries his hearers with him, and when the vote is taken it is almost unanimous in the negative, and the resolution is killed.

This is not a fanciful picture. Incidents akin to it happened more than once. There we have the same influence that inspired his son when he sailed into Manila Bay, May 1, 1898. The making of the first naval commander of this generation was in this noble sire, who could carry not only a town, but a State, before him, if he made up his mind. And no one will deny that such characteristics are given to the offspring by the parent.

To further explain the "whyness" of Admiral Dewey, and demonstrate that he is not an accident but a logical sequence, I will quote what a prominent Vermonter, who knew Dr. Dewey well, told me on the occasion of a recent visit to that State:

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III

FAMILY RELATIONS AND NO.

THIS leads the way to refer to Admiral's immediate family in Montpelier. He has two brothers, John and Edward, and a sister, Mary Greeley, all residing in Montpelier. Dewey is one of the best known men in the State, having been a member of Congress and is president of the National Life Insurance Company, and could, if he wished, politically, hold most any position he might aspire. He has a large home and a charming family. He is now retired from business. John is vice-president of the same company. During the Civil War he was in the quartermaster's department and did much active service. He is now classed as a successful business man. His house, which stands on the site of the old homestead, is one of the attractions of Montpelier. Lieutenant I

NOTABLE ANCESTORS

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ADMIRAL GEO

once relating incidents of his father's life as Admiral at Manila. As he met me he surprised and surprised me by remarking in an interesting time to say a word about me. I knew your father well, and I am glad to meet him, and I am glad to meet him.

Then he continued for my father before the same his brother. The persons can be pardoned as illustrating sincerity and the natural

The Admiral's mother also a remarkable woman the Admiral was so you was not like that of the noble character, a good read, refined, and ambitious should grow up worthy best blood flowed in her line of her ancestry are mother was a Mary Talbot generation from John from England in the ship 1632. He was a very person in six annual sessions of Massachusetts Bay. same line, and son of John fighter in the King Philip of the Weathersfield, Connecticut

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ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

had eight children by her. He lived first in Hanover, New Hampshire, the seat of Dartmouth College, and went later to live at Berlin, Vermont. While at Hanover he signed the petition for the location there of Dartmouth, which has now grown to be one of the best and largest colleges in America, and subscribed fifty acres of land for its use or support. Dartmouth can, therefore, feel a direct interest in the great Admiral, even if he did attend Norwich University, just across the Connecticut River, and then a rival of Dartmouth. He also inherited the taste for fighting, and was an ensign in Captain Hendrees's Revolutionary Company.

Thus it can be seen that the Admiral's ancestors were not only ready to defend the country, but to people it—at least, with Deweys. There is room for them all.

Dr. Julius Y. Dewey, the Admiral's father, was born August 22, 1801, at Berlin, Vermont, and passed away after seventy-five useful years, on May 29, 1877. He had three wives, but children only by the first, Mary Perrin. After her death he married Susan Tarbox, of Randolph, and later, when she died, Mrs. Susan Lilley, of Worcester, Massachusetts. They were all women of the best New England stock, and made good wives. The latter two cared for the children as if they were their own. It is

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ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

He was brought up to go to church, and was baptized in the Episcopal Church at Montpelier when twenty-three years old.

All the stories of Dewey's boyhood and school-days have been told and retold so many times that I will pass them over here. He first went away to school at Johnson, Vermont, where Mr. Pangborn, who once gave George a severe punishing, went as Principal of the Academy after leaving Montpelier. This would indicate either that the boy liked him, despite the discipline, or that Dr. Dewey thought it was the best place for him. He early expressed a desire to be a soldier or sailor, but as there was then no vacancy at West Point or Annapolis, his father sent him to Norwich University, a military institution, in 1851, where he remained until 1854. At Norwich he was an ordinary scholar. He did not study hard, but still was up to the average. He had not then quite learned the art and necessity of earnest application.

In September, 1854, he entered the United States Naval Academy, having secured, through his father's influence, the nomination from Vermont. When he began his course there, and during the first year, he did not hold high rank. In fact, it was necessary for his father to urge him to devote himself more assiduously

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ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

Later he joined Commander McComb in the *James River*, and distinguished himself at Donaldsville, Louisiana. He was then attached for some time to the North Atlantic blockading squadron, and was on the *Brooklyn* and *Agawam*. March 3, 1865, he was commissioned Lieutenant-commander for meritorious conduct at Fort Fisher. In seven years he gained a rank that now requires nearly seventeen years. Then he was ordered to the *Kearsarge*, which had sunk the *Alabama* and was eventually wrecked in the Caribbean Sea.

While on duty at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, he met and married Miss Susie P. Goodwin, daughter of the old war Governor of New Hampshire, Ichabod Goodwin. The marriage took place October 24, 1867, but their life together was cut short in 1873, when she died within a few days after giving birth to a son, George Goodwin. He now lives in New York City, where he entered the employ of Joy, Langdon & Co., after graduating from Princeton College.

Dewey again went to Europe, on the *Colorado*, in 1867, but returned in 1868 for detail at the Naval Academy, where he was fortunate enough to remain two years. This period, he has often said, was the happiest of his life, because he had his young wife with him. Made Com-

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ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

this time, but he was able to resume duty in the spring of 1883.

His Captaincy came September 27, 1884, or twenty-six years after graduation. There was, therefore, if he lived, no question that some day he would be the ranking officer of the navy. He went immediately to the *Dolphin*, one of the ships of the new navy and the original White Squadron planned by Secretary William C. Whitney. His next assignment was to the European Station, where, on the *Pensacola*, he had charge of the squadron.

In 1889 began his long, faithful service of special assignments as head of boards and chief of bureaus connected with the navy. His record for the ensuing nine years, when he had his headquarters most of the time at Washington, is unsurpassed, in variety and responsibility of work and in extent of achievement, by any other naval officer. The archives of the Department will always bear evidence of his careful attention to duty, his thoroughness of study, and his executive capacity in management. Among his assignments were Chief of Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting, member of Light-house, Examining, and Retiring Boards, and President of the Board of Inspection and Survey. When he became Chief of the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting, he had the rank, ex-officio, of Commodore. On Feb-

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ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

discuss and respect, but, still, when the news of his victory came, they were not surprised at his achievement. Had they known that he was destined for such great rank, they would have had confidence in his abilities, and yet probably would not have picked him out as their first choice for such extraordinary undertakings and responsibilities. Under his quiet, reserved, genial exterior were a force, decision, and energy that few realized. There was a spark now and then that betokened the latent fires of the furnace within. It required a great emergency to bring out the full fire and light that was before hidden. Now that it is all over, Washington has many men who remember indications of his capabilities that at the time did not impress them, and scores of others, on the contrary, who contend that they expected some such consummation of his life, and freely use the "I told you so" argument. The "original Dewey man" can be found not only in Washington but all over the land.

On October 21, 1897, he was appointed to the command of the Asiatic Station; on January 3, 1898, he assumed command at Nagasaki. In March he proceeded to Hong-Kong, where he remained over a month, practically preparing for war. On April 24th he went to Mirs Bay; on April 26th he sailed for Manila.



CHARLES DEWEY, THE ELDER BROTHER OF ADMIRAL DEWEY

President of the National Life Insurance Company of Montpelier



THE YEAR AT MANILA

On May 1st, 1898, he engaged the Spanish squadron and destroyed it; May 10th he received the thanks of Congress; May 13th he was promoted rear-admiral; August 13th he attacked the defences of Manila and, in co-operation with the army, captured Manila. In January, 1899, he was appointed member of the Philippine Commission; March 2d, 1899, he was promoted full Admiral.

Admiral Dewey's command in the Philippines can be divided into four important periods. First, from the day of the battle, May 1st, 1898, to June 30th, when the first army transports arrived; second, from June 30th to August 13th, when Manila surrendered; third, from August 13th to February 4th, 1899, the date of the Filipino outbreak; and fourth, from February 4th to May 20th, date of departure for America.

Each one of the periods carried with it its own peculiar responsibilities, but he met and mastered them all with the same dogged determination and rare discretion.

Then, after remaining one year constantly at his post, until his health was nearly undermined, he sailed for America, where he is due to arrive about October 1st.

What has been given in this brief record of his life, together with additional matter in the Appendix, will provide those who are sufficient-

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

ly interested to read this volume with ample data to form a comprehensive idea in their minds of the gradual rise and development of the Admiral from the boy at Montpelier to the hero we are now about to welcome home. Were this a history or biography, my sketch of his life would be unsatisfactory; as it is only a collection of pages from my note-book at Manila, published for the purpose of throwing sidelights on the Admiral's character and personality, it must suffice.

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ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

for letters and papers. We wanted to know how the people at home had taken the victory. The multitude of telegrams that had flowed in gave us some evidence, but we longed to read letters from friends and the accounts in the newspapers.

The Admiral displayed no great anxiety, but still he looked forward with as much quiet eagerness as did the Jackies for letters from friends and relations. He told me the day before the mail arrived that the letter he cared the most for was from his son. He wanted to know what the boy thought of his victory on May 1st.

The next day the *McCulloch* came in with the mail. The Admiral's portion, as can be imagined, was a large one. When Brumby undertook to look it over, he sighed at the labor before him. Everybody had come aboard the *Olympia* for mail, because that was the general distributing station. While it was being opened I was sitting aft talking with the Admiral, and heard him say to Caldwell :

"In looking over the mail and picking out my letters, find those first with my boy's handwriting and bring them to me. The others can come afterwards."

In a few minutes the orderly came out with a big bunch of letters, including not only those from his son, but from distinguished men at

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ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

tions, but it was plain that no compliment or congratulation gave him so much pleasure and satisfaction as the sincere, heartfelt words of his boy.

Possibly the best story which illustrates the Admiral's love of his son and his appreciation of his brightness and cleverness is one connected with their correspondence on very serious subjects. Some time before the Admiral left Hong-Kong, but after he knew that a fight was ahead of him with the Spaniards, he wrote a long four-page letter to his boy, in which he explained to him the responsibilities of the probable conflict and the chance that he might be killed in battle, advising him not to be broken-hearted over such a contingency, as that was the natural end of a naval officer who went to war. He further counselled him to grow up to be a good, strong man, and not to forget his father in the event of the latter's death. He discussed his financial status, and said that, although he was making no will, everything that he left went to him, and he hoped there was sufficient to assist him in his life's work. Nine-tenths of this four-page letter was devoted to consideration of very serious subjects. Just as the Admiral was closing the letter and there were a few lines of space left on the last page, he remembered that he was



**THE U.S.S. *OLYMPIA* ON THE MORNING OF THE DAY SHE LEFT
MANILA WITH ADMIRAL DEWEY ON BOARD**

Photographed by William Dinwiddie



THE BOY OBEYS ORDERS

all out of shoe-dressing, and added: "Please go to — store and get a dozen boxes of their best leather shoe-polish, and send to me without delay, because I cannot get it here. Your affectionate father," etc., etc.

In due time an answer came to this letter, nearly three months after it was sent. One day when calling on the Admiral, I found him in a particularly happy mood, and I remarked that he seemed to be in very good spirits.

"Yes," he said, "I am. Some good letters have just come from my son, and among them is one which I must read to you. Before I read it, however, so that you may understand the point which I am going to show you, I must tell you about a letter that I wrote to my son from Hong - Kong last April," and then the Admiral related to me what has just gone before. Continuing, he said:

"Now here is a four-page letter from my boy. Nine-tenths of it is just as serious as it can be. He discusses all the points which I brought up in my letter, and says that while he is perfectly confident no untimely end will come to me, he is proud that he has a father who is ready to die for his country, etc., coming almost to a climax of seriousness very near the bottom of the fourth page."

Then indicating with his finger the place on the last page, as he held it before me, he said:

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

“But, you see, here is a dash, and then he says : ‘I have been to the store you named and got the dozen boxes of shoe-polish which you desire, and have forwarded them by express to-day. Hope they reach you all right. Your affectionate son.’”

“Now,” continued the Admiral, “isn’t that pretty good ? When he received my letter, it struck him as rather odd and yet cool-headed to put on the end of a letter that talked about death, will, and finances, a reference to shoe-dressing—so he thought he would show to me that he could do the same thing with just as much ease and equanimity, and he has succeeded, hasn’t he ?”

This touch of humor and pleasant way of having a little joke at his father’s expense pleased the Admiral extremely. It showed him that the son had a cleverness at turning a good point which a father likes to discover in his boy. When the Admiral read this to me, I could not keep back the remark that the firm in New York where he directed his son to get the shoe-dressing would give most any sum he might name for a copy of that letter, or the part of it which contained the closing sentences written by the Admiral. He smiled and replied that it might not be a bad idea, if they would be willing to give the money to his son—and yet, in reality, the last thing

PROUD OF YOUNG GEORGE

that the Admiral would do would be to lend his name to any kind of cheap advertising.

The Admiral was thoroughly proud of his son, and naturally liked to talk about him. A number of the newspaper men discovered this pardonable weakness, and more than once when they had some special favor to ask of him would prepare the way for a kind reception on his part of their proposition by telling him some good story about young George, which they had read in the papers. It was very seldom that this method of approach failed of its purpose. At the same time the newspaper men were sincere in a way. They in turn admired the offspring of the sire for his good judgment in not being spoiled by all the attentions shown him in New York as the son of a great man, and they respected the sire the more because he took particular pleasure in his offspring's efforts to avoid notoriety, or make any capital out of his father's achievement. Nothing that young George could have done would have pleased his father more than the quiet reserved manner in which he viewed the Admiral's victory, and refused to be interviewed or to be lionized. It showed conclusively that the boy had the same stuff in him as the father, and there is nothing that delights a father more than to see his child

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

taking after him, as it were. In all this discussion of the son's qualities, the Admiral never forgot to refer to the influence of the mother. He would emphasize that the boy possessed many of his mother's best qualities, and went so far as to say that he resembled her more than he did him. On one occasion when the Admiral was quite confidential, he said:

"George is a thoroughly good boy. He has never given me a minute's trouble or worry. He is not perfect, but his faults are not sufficient to cause me any thought. He was always well behaved as a young child, at St. Paul's school, and later at Princeton. When I sometimes heard other fathers expressing regret that their boys did not seem to understand the serious side of life, I could not sympathize with them, because George seemed to me to be just what a typical son ought to be."

Then, with a twinkle in his eye, he added: "You see, there are some ways possibly in which he does not take after me. Now, if I remember correctly, I gave my father considerable bother and worry when I was a boy, and even during part of my college course. I wasn't malicious, or classed in any sense as bad, and I think that I uniformly tried to make the most out of my opportunities and behaved myself, but I wasn't as quiet, conserva-

A THOUGHTFUL YOUTH

tive, and thoughtful as my son apparently is. In New York, with all the temptations that beset young men who are there, he gets along just as well as ever, and takes great pleasure in the companionship of his young men friends who room with or near him, and enjoys being with his relations whenever he has time to visit them."

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I

REAR-ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY, U. S. N.

(Biographical notice in record of Norwich University graduates.)

GEORGE DEWEY, son of Julius Yemans Dewey, M.D., founder of the National Life Insurance Company of Montpelier, and for many years its president, and Mary Perrin, daughter of Zachariah Perrin, was born in Montpelier, Vt., December 26, 1837. He fitted for college in the Montpelier schools and the Johnson, Vt., Academy. He entered the University in 1851, and remained until 1854, when, having received an appointment as cadet to the United States Naval Academy, he entered that institution, September 23, 1854, and graduated in 1858 with honors. He was immediately assigned to the *Wabash* in the Mediterranean squadron, where he remained until the Civil War broke out.

Returning home, he was detailed to Farragut's fleet in the West Gulf squadron. He took part in the capture of New Orleans, April, 1862, and was

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one of the officers rescued from the *Mississippi* when Captain Melancton Smith set fire to her in 1862 rather than allow her capture by the Confederates. He was then assigned to duty on the James River under Captain McComb, and distinguished himself at the engagement below Donalds-ville, La., July, 1863. He was commissioned lieutenant, April 19, 1861. In 1864 he was ordered to the *Agawam* of the North Atlantic blockading squadron, and took part in the attack on Fort Fisher, and here he did valiant service.

He was made Lieutenant-Commander in 1865, and was ordered to the old *Kearsarge* in 1866. The following year he was transferred to the flagship *Colorado*, of the European squadron. He was detailed to the Naval Academy in 1868, where he remained until 1870, when he was made commander of the *Narragansett* and assigned to special service for more than two years. This was followed by another year ashore, at a torpedo-station. In 1873 he was placed in charge of the Pacific surveys, a very important and difficult position to fill. He was light-house inspector, 1876-77, and secretary of the board from 1877 until 1882, when he was sent in command of the *Juniata* to the Asiatic squadron. He was promoted captain, September, 1884, and was placed in command of the *Dolphin*, one of the four vessels of the original "White Squadron." In 1885 he was transferred to the *Pensacola* and sent to Europe in charge of the squadron. He remained there until 1888, when he had a short period of shore leave. He was



DEWEY AS A LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER

About 1865—aged twenty-eight



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chief of the bureau of equipment and recruiting, 1889-90, with rank of commodore; was president of the board of inspection and survey, Navy Department, 1890-97, when he was promoted commodore, and in November of that year was placed in command of the Asiatic station.

When the war with Spain broke out, in April, 1898, he was ordered with his command to the Philippine Islands, where, on May 1st, he defeated the Spanish fleet at Manila, in one of the greatest battles in naval history, and his name, as the "Hero of Manila," will stand enshrined with the great naval commanders of the world. He was given the thanks of Congress for his brilliant victory, and was promoted rear-admiral May 13, 1898.

He was married October 24, 1867, to Susan B., daughter of the Hon. Ichabod Goodwin, of Portsmouth, N. H., who was War Governor of New Hampshire until June 5, 1861, when his term of office expired, and who fitted out the First New Hampshire Volunteers at his own expense, rather than call an extra session of the Legislature. She died in 1873. One son, George Goodwin, was born to them, and resides in New York City.

II

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

(Biographical extract from "Who's Who in America.")

DEWEY, GEORGE, Admiral U. S. N.; b. Montpelier, Vt., Dec. 26, 1837; apptd. to Naval Acad., Sept. 23, 1854; grad. 1858 as midshipman; attached to steam-frigate *Wabash*, Mediterranean squadron, until outbreak of war, then to steam-sloop *Mississippi* of West Gulf squadron; commissioned Lt. April 19, 1861; was in Farragut's squadron, which forced the passage of Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson, April, 1862, and participated in attack on Fort St. Philip and the following fights with gunboats and ironclads which gave Farragut possession of New Orleans. In the smoke of the battle the *Mississippi* lost her bearings and ran ashore under the guns of the land batteries, and the officers and men took to the boats after setting the vessel on fire. Was afterwards on several vessels in North Atlantic blockading squadron, and later on various duties and at different stations, being promoted commander, April, 1872; capt., Sept., 1884; commodore, Feb. 9, 1896. In Jan., 1898, was appointed to command of Asiatic squad-



COMMODORE GEORGE DEWEY





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ron. On May 1, 1898, in Manila Bay, he commanded in the greatest naval battle since Trafalgar, completely annihilating the Spanish Asiatic squadron under Admiral Montojo, destroying eleven and capturing five vessels and all the land batteries without the loss of a man on the American side. Immediately upon receipt of official news of victory he was promoted rear-admiral, and thanked by resolution of Congress ; member U. S. Philippine Commission, January, 1899 ; promoted Admiral, February, 1899. Address: Navy Dep't., Washington.



III

DR. JULIUS YEMANS DEWEY

(Extracts from an obituary by Dr. Sumner Putnam)

JULIUS YEMANS DEWEY was born in Berlin, Vermont, Aug. 22, 1801; his father, Simeon Dewey, being among the first to settle in that town, coming from Hanover, N. H., nearly 100 years ago. Julius was one of a family of eight children, and very active when a lad, not only working upon the farm, but travelling about the country, both on foot and on horseback, as an assistant drover. But in his nineteenth summer, one half-day's work, which consisted in loading and pitching seventeen loads of hay, determined his choice of a profession, from the fact that for a long time afterward he was sick with pain and inflammation in the hepatic region, from which, however, he finally recovered, and outlived all the members of his father's family. Having acquired a good preliminary education at the Washington County Grammar School, he studied medicine with Dr. Lamb, a celebrated practitioner in those days, resident at Montpelier, and in 1823 received his degree from the medical department of the Vermont University, and commenced practice

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at Montpelier. In consequence of his activity, intelligence, and skill, he soon acquired a large professional business, and June 9, 1825, married Miss Mary Perrin, daughter of Zachariah Perrin, of Berlin. The fruit of this union was eighteen years of happy domestic life and four children: Charles and Edward Dewey, of Montpelier, George Dewey of the U. S. Navy, and Mrs. Dr. George P. Greeley, of Nashua, N. H. Furthermore, these years were crowned with professional and financial success, but all too soon the faithful wife and mother was called from her earthly home, and the circle thus painfully broken remained severed about two years, when it became restored by a second marriage, with Mrs. Susan E. Tarbox, of Randolph, an estimable lady, who brought with her an excellent daughter, now the wife of his oldest son, which arrangement proved very happy in all respects.

Though brought up in a family the heads of which were rigidly Puritan, Dr. Dewey chose the Protestant Episcopal Church, in which he was long a faithful office-bearer, a liberal supporter, and an influential adviser. In politics he was ardent and intelligent, and to him, perhaps, quite as much as any other one, is to be ascribed the defeat of Governor Palmer in 1835, and the subsequent success of the Whig and Republican parties in Vermont; yet he was never an office-seeker, but acted simply upon his convictions of what was best for the State and the nation.

In 1850, Dr. Dewey, with others, organized the National Life Insurance Company of Montpelier,

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and soon became its president and chief manager, and so remained until his death. . . .

In 1854, being deprived by death of a second wife, at fifty-three years of age, apparently in the prime of life, and by nature strongly inclined to make the best of life and its blessings, especially the endearments and comforts of home, he fortunately married Mrs. Susan E. G. Lilley, of Worcester, Mass., a beautiful and excellent woman, who also brought with her a beautiful daughter, now the wife of his second son, and for the last twenty years made his home a paradise, until his final departure shrouded it in mourning (1876).

During his last years, his relations as husband, parent, and grandparent were eminently happy. I have heard him remark that few men had been so unfortunate as himself in the loss of excellent wives, and that no man could have been more fortunate in replacing them. He was very strongly attached to home and its endearments—his wife, children, and grandchildren, and they always received from him the kindest attention, care, and provision; and, in return, he received from them, and carried with him at his departure, their utmost love, confidence, and respect.

Dr. Dewey was eminently a strong, self-made man—a person who thought carefully, intelligently, and broadly; consequently, every enterprise to which he put his hands proved a success. Education, the church, all forms of public welfare—town, State, and national, as the foundation and defence of home, social order, progress, and wealth

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—were near and dear to his heart, and always received his cordial support. During a long and active life, his ability and integrity reached and maintained the highest standard. Socially he was friendly, open, and cheerful.

On the 20th of May, 1877, he partook of a hearty dinner, over-exercised, and became much excited in discussion. Immediately symptoms of disturbed digestion began, and a bad night followed, the pulse soon falling to twenty-eight or thirty per minute. This state continued until the morning of the 29th, at 3.30 o'clock, when, in full consciousness, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, the heart ceased to beat, the countenance flushed, soon became full and dusky, efforts at respiration ceased almost immediately, consciousness was gone, and the paleness of death settled over the features.

IV

DEWEY GENEALOGY

(Supplied by Mr. W. T. Dewey, of Montpelier)

1. THOMAS DEWEY landed at Boston, Massachusetts, 1633; married, March 22, 1638, Mrs. Frances Clarke.

2. Josiah Dewey, baptized October 10, 1641; married, November 6, 1662, Hepzibah Lyman.

3. Josiah Dewey, Jr., born December 24, 1666; married, January 15, 1691, Mehitabel Miller.

4. William Dewey, born January, 1692; married, July 2, 1713, Mercy Saxton Bailey.

5. Simeon Dewey, born May 1, 1718; married, March 29, 1739, Anna Phelps.

6. William Dewey 2d, born January 11, 1745; married, 1768, Rebecca Carrier.

7. Captain Simeon Dewey, born August 20, 1770; married, February 27, 1794, Prudence Yemans.

8. Julius Yemans Dewey, born August 22, 1801; married, first, June 9, 1825, Mary Perrin; second, August 3, 1845, Susan Edson Tarbox; third, March 9, 1855, Susan E. G. Lilley. Children only by first wife.

9. George Dewey, the present Admiral, born December 26, 1837, who married Susie P. Goodwin, daughter of ex-Gov. Ichabod Goodwin of New Hampshire, and had one child, George Goodwin Dewey, born December 23, 1872.

(The Admiral has two brothers, Charles and Edward, and one sister, Mrs. Mary Dewey Greeley.)

V

REPORT OF BATTLE BY ADMIRAL MONTJOJO

(From Official Records.)

ON the 25th of April, 1898, at 11 P.M., I left the Bay of Manila for Subig, with a squadron composed of the cruisers *Reina Cristina*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Isla de Cuba*, *Isla de Luzon*, despatch-boat *Marques del Duero*, and the wooden cruiser *Castilla*. This last could merely be considered as a floating battery, incapable of manœuvring, on account of the bad condition of her hull. The following morning, being at Subig, I had a conference with Captain del Rio, who, though he did not relieve my anxiety respecting the completion of the defensive works, assured me that they would soon be finished.

In the meanwhile the cruiser *Castilla*, even on this short cruise, was making much water through the bearings of the propeller and the opening astern. They worked day and night to stop these leaks with cement, finally making the vessel nearly water-tight, but absolutely impossible to use her engines.

On the morning of the 27th, I sailed with the

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vessels to cover the entrance to the port of Subig. The *Castilla* was taken to the northeast point of the island of Grande to defend the western entrance, since the eastern entrance had already been closed with the hulls of the *San Quintin* and two old merchant vessels which were sunk there.

With much disgust, I found the guns which should have been mounted on that island were delayed a month and a half. This surprised me, as the shore batteries which the navy had installed (with very little difficulty) at the entrance of the Bay of Manila, under the intelligent direction of Colonel of Naval Artillery, Señor Garces, and Lieutenant Beneavente, were ready to fight twenty-four days after the commencement of the work. I was also no less disgusted that they confided in the efficacy of the few torpedoes which they had found feasible to put there.

The entrance was not defended by torpedoes nor by the batteries of the island, so that the squadron would have had to bear the attack of the Americans with its own resources, in forty metres of water and with little security. Our vessels could not only be destroyed, but they could not save their crews.

I still held a hope that the Americans would not go to Subig, and so give us time for more preparation, but the following day I received from the Spanish Consul at Hong-Kong a telegram which said: "Enemy's squadron sailed at 2 P.M. from Mirs Bay, and according to reliable accounts it



THE TWO 9.2 KRUPP GUNS OF THE LUNETTA BATTERY WHICH FIRED ON THE AMERICAN SHIPS, MAY 1, 1898



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sailed for Subig to destroy our squadron, and then will go to Manila."

This telegram demonstrated that the enemy knew where they could find my squadron, and that the port of Subig had no defences.

The same day, the 28th of April, I convened a council of captains, and all, with the exception of Del Rio, chief of the new arsenal, thought that the situation was insupportable, and that we should go to the Bay of Manila in order to accept there the battle under less unfavorable conditions.

I refused to have our ships near the city of Manila, because, far from defending it, this would provoke the enemy to bombard the Plaza, which doubtless would have been demolished on account of its few defences.

It was unanimously decided that we should take position in the Bay of Canacao, in the least water possible, in order to combine our fire with that of the batteries of Point Sangley and Ulloa.

I immediately ordered Del Rio to concentrate his forces in the most strategic point of the arsenal, taking every disposition to burn the coal and stores before allowing them to fall into the power of the enemy. I sent the *Don Juan de Austria* to Manila to get a large number of lighters, filled with sand, to defend the water-line of the *Castilla* (which could not move) against the enemy's shells and torpedoes. At 10 A.M., on the 29th, I left Subig with the vessels of my squadron, towing the *Castilla* by the transport *Manila*.

In the afternoon of the same day we anchored

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in the gulf of Canacao in eight metres of water. On the following morning we anchored in line of battle: The *Cristina*, *Castilla*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *Luzon*, *Cuba*, and the *Marques del Duero*, while the transport *Manila* was sent to the Roads of Bacoor, where the *Velasco* and *Lezo* were undergoing repairs.

At 7 P.M. I received a telegram from Subig announcing that the enemy's squadron had entered the port at 3, reconnoitring, doubtless seeking our ships, and from there they sailed with course for Manila.

The mail-steamer *Isla de Mindanao* arrived in the bay. I advised her captain to save his vessel by going to Singapore, as the enemy could not get into the entrance probably before midnight. As he was not authorized, he did not do so, and then I told him he should anchor in shallow water as near as possible to Bacoor.

At midnight, gun fire was heard off Corregidor, and at two in the morning of the 1st of May I received telegraphic advices that the American vessels were throwing their search-lights at the batteries at the entrance, with which they had exchanged several shots. I notified the commanding general of the arsenal, Señor Soston, and the Governor-General of the Plaza, Captain Señor Garcia Pana, that they should prepare themselves. I directed all the artillery to be loaded, and all the sailors and soldiers to go to their stations for battle, soon to receive the enemy. This is all that occurred from the time that I sailed to Subig until



A VIEW OF THE LUNETTA, LOOKING SOUTH TOWARDS MALATE

On the right is the surf of the bay rolling in from the sea. On the left is the stand where the regimental bands play in the late afternoon



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the entrance of the American squadron in the Bay of Manila.

The squadron being disposed for action, fires spread, and everything in proper place, we awaited the enemy's arrival. All the vessels having been painted a dark-gray color, and taken down their masts and yards and boats to avoid the effects of projectiles and splinters, had their anchors buoyed and cables ready to slip instantly. At 4 A.M. I made signals to prepare for action, and at 4.45 the *Austria* signalled the enemy's squadron, a few minutes after which they were recognized, with some confusion, in a column parallel with ours and about six thousand metres distant; the flag-ship *Olympia* ahead, followed by the *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Boston*, *Concord*, *Helena*, *Petrel*, and *McCulloch*, and the two transports *Zafiro* and *Nanshan*.

The force of these vessels, excepting transports that were non-combatant, amounted to 21,410 tons,* 49,290 horse-power, 163 guns (many of which were rapid-fire), 1750 men in their crews, and an average velocity of about seventeen miles. The power of our only five effective ships for battle was represented by 10,110 tons, 11,200 horse-

* These figures of Montojo are not correctly or fairly stated. He may not have intended to err, but, as they stand, the conclusions are not accurate. He includes the *Helena*, which was not present, and the two transports and *McCulloch*, which did no fighting, aside from leaving out in his own list and estimate some vessels which the American officers saw participate. His description of the Sangley Point battery also fails to give a just idea of its power.

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power, 76 guns (very short of rapid-fire), 1875 crew, and a maximum speed of twelve miles.

At five o'clock the batteries on Point Sangley opened fire. The first two shots fell short and to the left of the leading vessel. These shots were not answered by the enemy, whose principal object was the squadron. This battery had only two Ordinez guns of fifteen centimetres mounted, and but one of these could fire in the direction of the opposing fleet. In a few minutes one of the batteries of Manila opened fire, and at 5.15 I made signal that our squadron open fire. The enemy answered immediately. The battle became general. We slipped the springs and cables and started ahead with the engines, so as not to be involved by the enemy.

The Americans fired most rapidly. There came upon us numberless projectiles, as the three cruisers at the head of the line devoted themselves almost entirely to fight the *Cristina*, my flag-ship. A short time after the action commenced, one shell exploded in the forecastle and put out of action all those who served the four rapid-fire cannon, making splinters of the forward mast, which wounded the helmsman on the bridge, when Lieutenant José Nuñez took the wheel with a coolness worthy of the greatest commendation, steering until the end of the fight. In the meanwhile another shell exploded in the orlop, setting fire to the crew's bags, which they were fortunately able to control.

The enemy shortened the distance between us,



PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR

Taken in the court-yard of an old Spanish villa at Manila

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2

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and, rectifying his aim, covered us with a rain of rapid-fire projectiles. At 7.30 one shell destroyed completely the steering gear. I ordered to steer by hand while the rudder was out of action. In the meanwhile another shell exploded on the poop, and put out of action nine men. Another destroyed the mizzen-mast head, bringing down the flag and my ensign, which were replaced immediately. A fresh shell exploded in the officers' cabin, covering the hospital with blood and destroying the wounded who were being treated there. Another exploded in the ammunition-room astern, filling the quarters with smoke and preventing the working of the hand-steering gear. As it was impossible to control the fire, I had to flood the magazine when the cartridges were beginning to explode.

Amidships several shells of small calibre went through the smoke-stack, and one of the large ones penetrated the fire-room, putting out of action one master-gunner and twelve men serving the guns. Another rendered useless the starboard-bow gun. While the fire astern increased, fire was started forward by another shell which went through the hull and exploded on the deck.

The broadside guns being undamaged, continued firing until there were only one gunner and one seaman remaining unhurt for firing them, as the guns' crews had been frequently called upon to substitute those charged with steering, all of whom were out of action.

The ship being beyond control, the hull, smoke-

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pipe, and mast riddled with shot, the confusion occasioned by the cries of the wounded, half the crew out of action, among whom were seven officers, I gave the order to sink and abandon the ship before the magazine should explode, making signal at the same time to the *Isla de Cuba* and *Isla de Luzon* to assist in saving the rest of the crew, which they did, aided by others from the *Marques del Duero* and the arsenal. I abandoned the *Reina Cristina*, directing beforehand to secure her flag, and, accompanied by my staff, and with great sorrow, I hoisted my flag on the cruiser *Isla de Cuba*.

After many men had been saved from the unfortunate vessel, one shell destroyed her heroic commander, Don Luis de Cadarso, who was directing the rescue. The *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, which also defended herself firmly, using the only two guns which were available, was sunk by a shell which entered at the water-line, putting out of action her commander and half of her remaining crew.

The *Castilla*, which fought heroically, remained with her artillery useless, except one stern-gun, with which they fought spiritedly, was riddled with shot and set on fire by the enemy's shells, then sunk, and was abandoned by her crew in good order, which was directed by her commander, Don Alonzo el Gardo. The casualties on this ship were 23 killed and 80 wounded.

The *Don Juan de Austria*, very much damaged and on fire, went to the aid of the *Castilla*. The *Isla de Luzon* had three guns dismounted,

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and was slightly damaged in the hull. The *Marques del Duero* remained, with one of her engines useless, the bow-gun of 12 centimetres, and one of the redoubts.

At eight o'clock in the morning, the enemy's squadron having suspended its fire, I ordered the ships that remained to us to take positions in the bottom of the Roads at Bacoór, and there to resist to the last moment, and that they should be sunk before they surrendered.

At 10.30 the enemy returned, forming a circle to destroy the arsenal and the ships which remained to me, opening upon them a horrible fire, which we answered as far as we could with the few cannon which we still had mounted. There remained the last recourse, to sink our vessels, and we accomplished this operation, taking care to save the flag, the distinguishing pennant, the money in the safe, the portable arms, the breech-plugs of the guns, and the signal-codes.

After which I went with my staff to the Convent of Santo Domingo de Cavité, to be cured of a wound received in the left leg, and to telegraph a brief report of the action, with preliminaries and results.

It remains only to say that all the chiefs, officers, engineers, quartermasters, gunners, sailors, and soldiers rivalled one another in sustaining with honor the good name of the navy on this sad day.

The inefficiency of the vessels which composed my little squadron, the lack of all classes of the *personnel*, especially master-gunners and seaman-

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gunners; the inaptitude of some of the provisional machinists, the scarcity of rapid-fire cannon, the strong crews of the enemy, and the unprotected character of the greater part of our vessels, all contributed to make more decided the sacrifice which we made for our country and to prevent the possibility of the horrors of a bombardment of the city of Manila, with the conviction that, with the scarcity of our force against the superior enemy, we were going to certain death and could expect a loss of all our ships.

Our casualties, including those of the arsenal, amounted to 381 men killed and wounded.

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